074 b. 69
Arouet de Voltaire

MICROMEGAS:

A

COMIC ROMANCE.

BEING

A SEVERE SATIRE

UPON THE

PHILOSOPHY, IGNORANCE, and SELF-CONCEIT of MANKIND.

Together with

A DETAIL of the CRUSADES:

And a new Plan for the HISTORY of the HUMAN MIND.

Translated from the FRENCH of

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MDCCLIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

MICROMEGAS.

CHAP. I.

A voyage to the planet Saturn, by an inhabitant of the ſtar Sirius.

IN one of the planets that revolve round the ſtar known by the name of Sirius, was a certain young gentleman of promiſing parts, whom I had the honour to be acquainted with, in his laſt voyage to this our little ant-hill. His name was Micromegas, an appellation admirably ſuited to all great men, and his ſtature amounted to eight leagues in height, that is, four and twenty thouſand geometrical paces, five feet in each.

SOME of your mathematicians, a ſet of people always uſeful to the public, will, perhaps, inſtantly ſeize the pen, and cal-

culate, that Mr. Micromegas, inhabitant of the country of Sirius, being from head to foot, four and twenty thouſand paces in length, making one hundred and twenty thouſand royal feet; that we denizens of this earth, being at a medium, little more than five feet high, and our globe nine thouſand leagues in circumference. Theſe things being premiſed, I ſay, they will conclude, that the periphery of the globe which produced him, muſt be exactly one and twenty millions, ſix hundred thouſand times greater than that of this our tiny ball. Nothing in nature is more ſimple and common. The dominions of ſome ſovereigns of Germany or Italy, which may be compaſſed in half an hour, when compared with the empires of Ottoman, Muſcovy or China, are no other than faint inſtances of the prodigious difference which nature hath made in the ſcale of beings. The ſtature of his excellency being of theſe extraordinary dimenſions, all our painters and ſtatuaries will eaſily agree, that the round of his belly might amount to fifty thouſand royal feet: a very agreeable and juſt proportion.

His noſe being equal in length to one third of his face, and his jolly countenance engroſſing

engroſſing one ſeventh part of his height, it muſt be owned, that the noſe of this ſame Sirian, was ſix thouſand three hundred and thirty three royal feet to a hair, which was to be demonſtrated.—With regard to his underſtanding, it is one of the beſt cultivated I have known; he is perfectly well acquainted with abundance of things, ſome of which are of his own invention: for, when his age did not exceed two hundred and fifty years, he, according to the cuſtom of his country, ſtudied at the moſt celebrated univerſity of the whole planet, and by the force of his genius, found out upwards of fifty propoſitions of Euclid; having the advantage by more than eighteen, of BLAISE PASCHAL, who (as we are told by his own ſiſter) demonſtrated two and thirty for his amuſement, and then left off, chooſing rather to be an indifferent philoſopher, than a great mathematician.—About the four hundred and fiftieth year of his age, or latter end of his childhood, he diſſected a great number of ſmall inſects not more than one hundred feet in diameter, which are not perceivable by ordinary microſcopes, of which he compoſed a very curious treatiſe, which involved him in ſome trouble: the mufti of the nation, though very old and very igno-

rant, made ſhift to diſcover in his book, certain lemmas that were ſuſpicious, unſeemly, raſh, heretick and unſound; and proſecuted him with great animoſity: for, the ſubject of the author's inquiry, was, whether in the world of Sirius, there was any difference between the ſubſtantial forms of a flea and a ſnail.

MICROMEGAS defended his philoſophy with ſuch ſpirit as made all the female ſex his proſelytes; and the law-ſuit laſted two hundred and twenty years, at the end of which, in conſequence of the mufti's intereſt, the book was condemned by judges who had never read it, and the author expelled from court, for the term of eight hundred years.

NOT much afflicted at his baniſhment from a court that teemed with nothing but turmoils and trifles, he made a very humorous ſong upon the mufti, who gave himſelf no trouble about the matter, and ſet out on his travels from planet to planet, in order (as the ſaying is) to improve his mind and finiſh his education. Thoſe who never travel but in a poſt-chaiſe or berlin, will, doubtleſs, be aſtoniſhed at the equipages uſed above: for we that ſtrut upon

upon this little mole-hill, are at a loſs to conceive any thing that ſurpaſſes our own cuſtoms. But, our traveller was a wonderful adept in the laws of gravitation, together with the whole force of attraction and repulſion; and made ſuch ſeaſonable uſe of his knowledge, that ſometimes, by the help of a ſun-beam, and ſometimes by the convenience of a comet, he and his retinue glided from ſphere to ſphere, as a bird hops ſtom one bough to another. He in a very little time, poſted through the milky way; and I am obliged to own, he ſaw not a twinkle of thoſe ſtars ſuppoſed to adorn that fair empyrëan, which the illuſtrious doctor Derham braggs to have obſerved through his teleſcope. Not that I pretend to ſay the doctor was miſtaken. God forbid! but Micromegas was upon the ſpot, an exceeding good obſerver, and I have no mind to contradict any man. Be that as it will, after many windings and turnings, he arrived at the planet Saturn; and accuſtomed as he was to the ſight of novelties, he could not for his life repreſs that ſupercilious and conceited ſmile which often eſcapes the wiſeſt philoſopher, when he perceived the ſmallneſs of that globe, and the diminutive ſize of it's inhabitants: for, really Saturn is but about nine hun-

dred times larger than this our earth, and the people of that country meer dwarfs, about a thouſand fathoms high. In ſhort, he at firſt derided thoſe poor pigmies, juſt as an Italian fidler laughs at the muſic of Lully, at his firſt arrival in Paris: but, as this Sirian was a perſon of good ſenſe, he ſoon perceived that a thinking being may not be altogether ridiculous, even though he is not quite ſix thouſand feet high; and therefore he became familiar with them, after they had ceaſed to wonder at his extraordinary appearance. In particular, he contracted an intimate friendſhip with the ſecretary of the academy of Saturn, a man of good underſtanding, who, though in truth he had invented nothing of his own, gave a very good account of the inventions of others, and enjoyed in peace the reputation of a little poet and great calculator. And here, for the edification of the reader, I will repeat a very ſingular converſation that one day paſſed between Mr. ſecretary and Micromegas.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The converſation betwixt Micromegas and the inhabitant of Saturn.

HIS excellency having laid himſelf down, and the ſecretary approached his noſe, "It muſt be confeſs'd," ſaid Micromegas, "that nature is full of variety."—"Yes," replied the Saturnian, "nature is like a "parterre whoſe flowers—" "Pſhaw!" cried the other, "a truce with your par-"terres."—"It is," reſumed the ſecretary, "like an aſſembly of fair and brown "women whoſe dreſſes—" "What a "plague have I to do with your bru-"nettes?" ſaid our traveller. "Then it "is like a gallery of pictures, the ſtrokes "of which—" "Not at all," anſwered Micromegas, "I tell you once for all, "nature is like nature, and compariſons "are odious." "Well, to pleaſe you," ſaid the ſecretary,—"I won't be pleaſed," replied the Sirian, "I want to be inſtruct-"ed: begin therefore, without further "preamble, and tell me how many ſenſes "the people of this world enjoy."—"We "have ſeventy and two," ſaid the acade-

mician, " but, we are daily complaining " of the ſmall number; as our imaginati- " on tranſcends our wants; for, with theſe " ſeventy two ſenſes, our five moons and " ring, we find ourſelves very much reſ- " tricted; and notwithſtanding our curio- " ſity, and the no ſmall number of thoſe " paſſions that reſult from theſe few ſenſes, " we have ſtill time enough to be tired of " idleneſs." " I ſincerely believe what " you ſay," cried Micromegas, " for, " though we Sirians have near a thouſand " different ſenſes, there ſtill remains a cer- " tain vague deſire, an unaccountable in- " quietude inceſſantly advertiſing us of our " own unimportance, and giving us to un- " derſtand, that there are other beings " who are much our ſuperiors in point of " perfection. I have travelled a little, " and ſeen mortals both above and below " myſelf in the ſcale of being: but, I " have met with none who had not more " deſire than neceſſity, and more want " than gratification; perhaps, I ſhall one " day arrive in ſome country, where " nought is wanting; but, hitherto I have " had no certain information of ſuch an " happy land." The Saturnian and his gueſt exhauſted themſelves in conjectures upon this ſubject, and after abundance of argu-

argumentation equally ingenious and uncertain, being fain to return to matter of fact, "To what age do you commonly "live?" ſaid the Sirian. "Lack-a-day! a "meer trifle," replied the little gentleman. "It is the very ſame caſe with us," reſumed the other, "the ſhortneſs of life is "our daily complaint; ſo that this muſt "be an univerſal law in nature." "Alas!" cried the Saturnian, "few, very few on "this globe, outlive five hundred great "revolutions of the ſun: (theſe, according to our way of reckoning, amounts "to about fifteen thouſand years.) So, "you ſee we in a manner begin to die the "very moment we are born: our exiſtence "is no more than a point, our duration "an inſtant, and our globe an atom. "Scarce do we begin to learn a little, "when death intervenes, before we can "profit by experience: for my own part, "I am deterred from laying ſchemes, "when I conſider myſelf as a ſingle drop "in the midſt of an immenſe ocean: I am "particularly aſhamed in your preſence, "of the ridiculous figure I make among "my fellow-creatures."

To this declaration, Micromegas replied, "If you were not a philoſopher, I

" ſhould be afraid of mortifying your
" pride, by telling you, that the term of
" our lives, is ſeven hundred times longer
" than the date of your exiſtence: but,
" you are very ſenſible, that when the
" texture of the body is reſolved, in order
" to reanimate nature in another form,
" which is the conſequence of what we call
" death; when that moment of change
" arrives, there is not the leaſt difference
" betwixt having lived a whole eternity,
" or a ſingle day. I have been in ſome
" countries where the people live a thou-
" ſand times longer, than with us, and
" yet they murmured at the ſhortneſs
" of their time: but, one will find every
" where, ſome few perſons of good ſenſe,
" who know how to make the beſt of their
" portion, and thank the author of nature
" for his bounty. There is a profuſion of
" variety ſcattered through the univerſe;
" and yet there is an admirable vein of
" uniformity that runs through the whole:
" for example, all thinking beings are dif-
" ferent among themſelves, though at
" bottom they reſemble one another, in
" the powers and paſſions of the ſoul:
" matter though interminable, hath differ-
" ent properties in every ſphere. How
" many principal attributes do you reckon

"in the matter of this world?" "If you "mean thoſe properties," ſaid the Saturnian, "without which we believe this our "globe could not ſubſiſt, we reckon in all "three hundred, ſuch as extent, impene-"trability, motion, gravitation, diviſibi-"lity, et cætera."—"That ſmall num-"ber," replied the traveller, "probably "anſwers the views of the creator, on this "your narrow ſphere. I adore his wiſdom "in all his works. I ſee infinite variety, "but every where proportion. Your globe "is ſmall; ſo are the inhabitants: you "have few ſenſations; becauſe your mat-"ter is endued with few properties: "theſe are the works of unerring provi-"dence. Of what colour does your ſun "appear when accurately examined?" "Of a yellowiſh white," anſwered the Saturnian; "and in ſeparating one of his "rays, we find it contains ſeven colours." "Our ſun," ſaid the Sirian, "is of a red-"diſh hue, and we have no leſs than thirty "nine original colours. Among all the "ſuns I have ſeen, there is no ſort of re-"ſemblance; and in this ſphere of yours, "there is not one face like another."

After divers queſtions of this nature, he aſked how many ſubſtances eſſentially

different, they counted in the world of Saturn? and underſtood that they numbered but thirty; ſuch as God, ſpace, matter, beings endued with ſenſe and extenſion, beings that have extenſion, ſenſe, and reflection, thinking beings who have no extenſion, thoſe that are penetrable, thoſe that are impenetrable, and the reſt. But this Saturnian philoſopher was prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed, when the Sirian told him, they had no leſs than three hundred, and that he himſelf had diſcovered three thouſand more in the courſe of his travels. In ſhort, after having communicated to each other, what they knew, and even what they did not know, and argued during a complete revolution of the ſun, they reſolved to ſet out together, on a ſmall philoſophical tour.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The voyage of thoſe two inhabitants of the other world.

OUR two philoſophers were juſt ready to embark for the atmoſphere of Saturn, with a jolly proviſion of mathematical inſtruments, when the Saturnian's miſtreſs, having got an inkling of their deſign, came all in tears, to make her remonſtrances. She was a little handſome brunette, not above ſix hundred and threeſcore fathom high; but, her agreeable attractions made amends for the ſmallneſs of her ſtature. "Ah! cruel man," cried ſhe, "after a reſiſtance of fifteen hundred years, "when at length I ſurrendered, and ſcarce "have paſſed two hundred more in thy "embrace, to leave me thus, before the "honey moon is over, and go a rambling "with a giant of another world! go, go, "thou art a meer virtuoſo devoid of ten-"derneſs and love! if thou wert a true "Saturnian, thou wouldſt be faithful and "invariable. Ah! whither art thou go-"ing? what is thy deſign? our five moons "are not ſo inconſtant, nor our ring ſo

"change-

" changeable as thee! but, take this along " with you, henceforth I ne'er ſhall love " another man." The little gentleman embraced and wept over her, notwithſtanding his philoſophy; and the lady, after having ſwooned with great decency, went to conſole herſelf with the converſation of a certain beau.

MEAN while, our two virtuoſi ſet out, and at one jump leaped upon the ring, which they found pretty flat, according to the ingenious gueſs of an illuſtrious inhabitant of this our little earth: from thence they eaſily ſlipped from moon to moon; and a comet chancing to paſs, they ſprung upon it with all their ſervants and apparatus. Thus carried about one hundred and fifty millions of leagues, they met with the ſatellites of Jupiter, and arrived upon the body of the planet itſelf, where they continued a whole year; during which, they learned ſome very curious ſecrets, which would actually be ſent to the preſs, were it not for fear of the gentlemen inquiſitors, who have found among them, ſome corollaries very hard of digeſtion. Nevertheleſs, I have read the manuſcript in the library of the illuſtrious archbiſhop of . . . . who has granted me permiſſion to peruſe his

his books, with that generoſity and goodneſs, which can never be enough commended: wherefore, I promiſe he ſhall have a long article in the next edition of Moreri, where I ſhall not forget the young gentlemen his ſons, who give us ſuch pleaſing hopes of ſeeing perpetuated the race of their illuſtrious father. But to return to our travellers. When they took leave of Jupiter, they traverſed a ſpace of about one hundred millions of leagues, and coaſting along the planet Mars, which is well known to be five times ſmaller than our little earth, they deſcried two moons ſubſervient to that orb, which have eſcaped the obſervation of all our aſtronomers. I know father Caſtel will write, and that pleaſantly enough, againſt the exiſtence of theſe two moons; but I entirely refer myſelf to thoſe who reaſon by analogy: thoſe worthy philoſophers are very ſenſible, that Mars, which is at ſuch a diſtance from the ſun, muſt be in a very uncomfortable ſituation, without the benefit of a couple of moons: be that as it may, our gentlemen found the planet ſo ſmall, that they were afraid they ſhould not find room to take a little repoſe; ſo that they purſued their journey like two travellers who deſpiſe the paultry accommodation of a village,

lage, and puſh forward to the next market town. But the Sirian and his companion ſoon repented of their delicacy; for, they journeyed a long time, without finding a reſting place, 'till at length, they diſcerned a ſmall ſpeck, which was Earth. Coming from Jupiter, they could not but be moved with compaſſion at ſight of this miſerable ſpot, upon which, however, they reſolved to land, leſt they ſhould be a ſecond time diſappointed. They accordingly moved towards the tail of the comet, where finding an Aurora Borealis ready to ſet ſail, they embarked, and arrived on the northern coaſt of the Baltic, on the fifth day of July, new ſtile, in the year 1737.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

What befel them upon this our globe.

HAVING taken ſome repoſe, and being deſirous of reconnoitring the narrow field in which they were, they traverſed it at once from north to ſouth: every ſtep of the Sirian and his attendants, meaſuring about thirty thouſand royal feet: whereas, the dwarf of Saturn, whoſe ſtature did not exceed a thouſand fathoms, followed at a diſtance, quite out of breath; becauſe, for every ſingle ſtride of his companion, he was obliged to make twelve good ſteps at leaſt. The reader may figure to himſelf (if we are allowed to make ſuch compariſons) a very little rough ſpaniel dodging after a captain of the Pruſſian grenadiers.

As thoſe ſtrangers walked at a good pace, they compaſſed the globe in ſix and thirty hours; the ſun, 'tis true, or rather the earth, deſcribes the ſame ſpace in the courſe of one day; but, it muſt be obſerved, that it is much more eaſy to turn upon an axis, than to walk afoot. Behold them then returned to the ſpot from whence they had ſet out, after having diſcovered

covered that almoſt imperceptible ſea, which is called the Mediterranean; and the other narrow pond that ſurrounds this mole-hill, under the denomination of the great ocean; in wading through which, the dwarf had never wet his mid-leg, while the other ſcarce moiſtened his heel. In going and coming through both hemiſpheres, they did all that lay in their power to diſcover whether or not the globe was inhabited. They ſtooped, they lay down, they groped in every corner; but their eyes and hands were not at all proportioned to the ſmall beings that crawl upon this earth; and, therefore, they could not find the ſmalleſt reaſon to ſuſpect that we and our fellow citizens of this globe, had the honour to exiſt.

The dwarf, who ſometimes judged too haſtily, concluded at once, that there was no living creature upon earth; and his chief reaſon was, that he had ſeen nobody. But, Micromegas, in a polite manner, made him ſenſible of the unjuſt concluſion; "For," ſaid he, "with your diminutive "eyes, you cannot ſee certain ſtars of the "fiftieth magnitude, which I diſtinctly "perceive; and do you take it for grant-"ed that no ſuch ſtars exiſt?" "But, I "have

" have groped with great care," replied the dwarf. " Then your ſenſe of feeling " muſt be bad," reſumed the other. " But, " this globe," ſaid the dwarf, " is ill con- " trived; and ſo irregular in its form, as " to be quite ridiculous. The whole to- " gether looks like a chaos. Do but ob- " ſerve theſe little rivulets; not one of " them runs in a ſtraight line: and theſe " ponds, which are neither round, ſquare " nor oval, nor indeed of any regular fi- " gure; together with thoſe little ſharp " pebbles (meaning the mountains) that " roughen the whole ſurface of the globe, " and have tore all the ſkin from my feet. " Beſides, pray take notice of the ſhape of " the whole, how it flattens at the poles, and " turns round the ſun in an aukward oblique " manner, ſo as that the polar circles can- " not poſſibly be cultivated. Truly, what " makes me believe there is no inhabitant " on this ſphere, is a full perſuaſion, that " no ſenſible being would live in ſuch a " diſagreeable place." " What then?" ſaid Micromegas, " perhaps the beings " that inhabit it, come not under that de- " nomination; but, in all appearance, it " was not made for nothing. Every thing " here, ſeems to you irregular, becauſe, " you fetch all your compariſons from Ju-

piter

" piter or Saturn. Perhaps this is the very
" reaſon for the ſeeming confuſion which
" you condemn; have not I told you that
" in the courſe of my travels, I have al-
" ways met with variety?" The Saturnian replied to all theſe arguments, and perhaps the diſpute would have known no end, if Micromegas in the heat of the conteſt had not luckily broke the ſtring of his diamond necklace; ſo that the jewels fell to the ground, conſiſting of pretty ſmall unequal karats, the largeſt of which weighed four hundred pounds, and the ſmalleſt, fifty. The dwarf in helping to pick them up, perceived as they approached his eye, that every ſingle diamond was cut in ſuch a manner as to anſwer the purpoſe of an excellent microſcope. He therefore took up a ſmall one, about one hundred and ſixty feet in diameter, and applied it to his eye; while Micromegas choſe another of two thouſand five hundred. Though they were of excellent powers, the obſervers could perceive nothing by their aſſiſtance, ſo that they were altered and adjuſted: at length, the inhabitant of Saturn diſcerned ſomething almoſt imperceptible, moving between two waves in the Baltic: this was no other than a whale, which in a dextrous manner, he caught with his little finger,

ger, and placing it on the nail of his thumb, ſhewed it to the Sirian, who laughed heartily at the exceſſive ſmallneſs peculiar to the inhabitants of this our globe. The Saturnian, by this time convinced that our world was inhabited, began to imagine we had no other animals than whales; and being a mighty arguer, he forthwith ſet about inveſtigating the origin and motion of this ſmall atom, curious to know whether or not it was furniſhed with ideas, judgment and free will. Micromegas was very much perplexed upon this ſubject; he examined the animal with the moſt patient attention, and the reſult of his inquiry was, that he could ſee no reaſon to believe a ſoul was lodged in ſuch a body. The two travellers were actually inclined to think there was no ſuch thing as mind, in this our habitation, when by the help of their microſcope, they perceived ſomething as large as a whale, floating upon the ſurface of the ſea. It is well known, that at this period, a flight of philoſophers were upon their return from the polar circle, where they had been making obſervations, for which nobody has hitherto been the wiſer. The gazettes record, that their veſſel ran aſhore on the coaſt of Boſnia, and that they with great difficulty, ſaved their lives; but, in this

this world one can never dive to the bottom of things: for my own part, I will ingenuouſly recount the tranſaction juſt as it happened, without any addition of my own; and this is no ſmall effort in a modern hiſtorian.

CHAP. V.

MICROMEGAS ſtretched out his hand gently towards the place where the object appeared, and advanced two fingers, which he inſtantly pulled back, for fear of being diſappointed, then opening ſoftly and ſhutting them all at once, he very dextrouſly ſeized the ſhip that contained thoſe gentlemen, and placed it on his nail, avoiding too much preſſure, which might have cruſhed the whole in pieces. "This," ſaid the Saturnian dwarf, "is a creature very "different from the former:" upon which, the Sirian placing the ſuppoſed animal in the hollow of his hand, the paſſengers and crew, who believed themſelves thrown by a hurricane upon ſome rock, began to put themſelves in motion. The ſailors having hoiſted out ſome caſks of wine, jumped after them into the hand of Micromegas: the mathematicians having ſecured their qua-

quadrants, ſectors and Lapland miſtreſſes, went over board at a different place, and made ſuch a buſtle in their deſcent, that the Sirian, at length, felt his fingers tickled by ſomething that ſeemed to move. An iron crow chanced to penetrate about a foot deep into his fore finger; and from this prick he concluded, that ſomething had iſſued from the little animal he held in his hand; but at firſt he ſuſpected nothing more: for, the microſcope that ſcarce rendered a whale and a ſhip viſible, had no effect upon an object ſo imperceptible as man.—I do not intend to ſhock the vanity of any perſon whatever; but here I am obliged to beg your people of importance, to conſider, that ſuppoſing the ſtature of a man to be about five feet, we mortals make juſt ſuch a figure upon the earth, as an animal the ſixty thouſand part of a foot in height, would exhibit upon a bowl ten feet in circumference. When you reflect upon a being who could hold this whole earth in the palm of his hand, and is endued with organs proportioned to thoſe we poſſeſs, you will eaſily conceive, that there muſt be a great variety of created ſubſtances,—and pray, what muſt ſuch beings think of thoſe battles by which a conqueror gains a ſmall village, to loſe it again

in

in the ſequel? I do not at all doubt, but if ſome captain of grenadiers ſhould chance to read this work, he would add two large feet at leaſt to the caps of his company; but, I aſſure him his labour will be vain; for, do what he will, he and his ſoldiers will never be other than infinitely diminutive and inconſiderable. What wonderful addreſs muſt have been inherent in our Sirian philoſopher, that enabled him to perceive thoſe atoms of which we have been ſpeaking. When Leuwenhoek and Hartſoecker obſerved the firſt rudiments of which we are formed, they did not make ſuch an aſtoniſhing diſcovery. What pleaſure, therefore, was the portion of Micromegas, in obſerving the motion of thoſe little machines, in examining all their pranks, and purſuing them in all their operations! with what joy did he put his microſcope into his companion's hand; and with what tranſport did they both at once, exclaim, "I "ſee them diſtinctly,---don't you perceive "them carrying burdens, lying down and "riſing up again?" So ſaying, their hands ſhook with eagerneſs to ſee, and apprehenſion to loſe ſuch uncommon objects.---The Saturnian making a ſudden tranſition, from the moſt cautious diſtruſt, to the moſt exceſſive credulity, imagined he ſaw them

in the very work of propagation, and cried aloud, "I have ſurpriſed nature in the very fact." Nevertheleſs, he was deceived by appearances; a caſe too common, whether we do, or do not make uſe of microſcopes.

CHAP. VI.

What happened in their intercouſe with men.

MICROMEGAS being a much better obſerver than his dwarf, perceived diſtinctly that thoſe atoms ſpoke; and made the remark to his companion, who was ſo much aſhamed of being miſtaken in the article of generation, that he would not believe ſuch a puny ſpecies could poſſibly communicate their ideas: for, though he had the gift of tongues, as well as his companion, he could not hear thoſe particles ſpeak; and therefore ſuppoſed they had no language: beſides, how ſhould ſuch imperceptible beings have the organs of ſpeech? and what in the name of God can they ſay to one another? in order to ſpeak, they muſt have ſomething like thought, and if they think, they muſt ſurely have

ſomething equivalent to a ſoul: now, to attribute any thing like a ſoul to ſuch an inſect ſpecies, appears a meer abſurdity.---
"But juſt now," replied the Sirian, "you "believed they made love to each other; "and do you think this could be done "without thinking, without uſing ſome "ſort of language, or at leaſt, ſome way "of making themſelves underſtood? or do "you ſuppoſe it is more difficult to ad-"vance an argument than to produce a "child? for my own part, I look upon "both theſe faculties as alike myſterious."
"I will no longer venture to believe or "deny," anſwered the dwarf: "in ſhort, "I have no opinion at all. Let us endea-"vour to examine theſe inſects, and we "will reaſon upon them afterwards. ---"
"With all my heart," ſaid Micromegas, who taking out a pair of ſciſſars, which he kept for paring his nails, cut off a paring from his thumb nail, of which he immediately formed a large kind of ſpeaking trumpet, like a vaſt tunnel, and clapped the pipe to his ear: as the circumference of this machine, included the ſhip and all the crew, the moſt feeble voice was conveyed along the circular fibres of the nail; ſo that, thanks to his induſtry, the philoſopher could diſtinctly hear the buzzing of our

inſects that were below; in a few hours he diſtinguiſhed articulate ſounds, and at laſt, plainly underſtood the French language. The dwarf heard the ſame, though with more difficulty.

The aſtoniſhment of our travellers increaſed every inſtant. They heard a neſt of mites talk in a pretty ſenſible ſtrain: and that Luſus Naturæ, ſeemed to them inexplicable. You need not doubt but the Sirian and his dwarf glowed with impatience to enter into converſation with ſuch atoms. Micromegas being afraid that his voice like thunder, would deafen and confound the mites, without being underſtood by them, ſaw the neceſſity of diminiſhing the ſound: each, therefore, put into his mouth a ſort of ſmall tooth-pick, the ſlender end of which reached to the veſſel. The Sirian ſetting the dwarf upon his knees, and the ſhip and crew upon his nail, held down his head and ſpoke ſoftly.---In fine, having taken theſe and a great many more precautions, he addreſſed himſelf to them, in theſe words,

"O ye inviſible inſects, whom the hand "of the creator hath deigned to produce "in the abyſs of infinite littleneſs, I give "praiſe to his goodneſs, in that he hath

" been pleaſed to diſcloſe unto me thoſe
" ſecrets that ſeemed to be impenetrable;
" perhaps, the court of Sirius, will not
" diſdain to behold you, with admiration:
" for my own part, I deſpiſe no creature,
" and therefore offer you my protection."

If ever there was ſuch a thing as aſtoniſhment, it ſeized upon the people who heard this addreſs, and who could not conceive from whence it proceeded. The chaplain of the ſhip repeated exorciſms, the ſailors ſwore, and the philoſophers formed a ſyſtem: but, notwithſtanding all their ſyſtems, they could not divine who the perſon was that ſpoke to them. Then the dwarf of Saturn, whoſe voice was ſofter than that of Micromegas, gave them briefly to underſtand, what ſpecies of beings they had to do with. He related the particulars of their voyage from Saturn, made them acquainted with the rank and quality of monſieur Micromegas; and after having pitied their ſmallneſs, aſked if they had always been in that miſerable ſtate, ſo near akin to annihilation, and what their buſineſs was upon that globe which ſeemed to be the property of whales; he alſo deſired to know if they were happy in their ſituation, if they propagated their ſpecies, if they were

were inſpired with ſouls; and put a hundred queſtions more of the like nature.

A certain mathematician on board, more courageous than the reſt, and ſhocked to hear his ſoul called in queſtion, planted his quadrant, and having taken two obſervations of this interlocutor, "You believe "then, Mr. what d'yecallum," ſaid he, "that becauſe you meaſure from head to "foot, a thouſand fathoms" . . . "A thou-"ſand fathoms!" cried the dwarf, "good "heaven! how ſhould he know the height "of my ſtature? a thouſand fathoms! "my very dimenſions to an hair. What, "meaſured by a mite! this atom forſooth "is a geometrician, and knows exactly "how tall I am: while I, who can ſcarce "perceive him through a microſcope, am "utterly ignorant of his extent!" "Yes, I "have taken your meaſure," anſwered the "philoſopher, "and I will now do the ſame "by your tall companion." The propoſal was embraced; his excellency laid himſelf along: for, had he ſtood upright, his head would have reached too far above the clouds. Our mathematicians planted a tall tree in a certain part of him, which doctor Swift would have mentioned without heſitation, but which I forbear to call by it's

name, out of my inviolable reſpect for the ladies; then, by a ſeries of triangles joined together, they diſcovered, that the object of their obſervation, was a ſtrapping youth, exactly one hundred and twenty thouſand royal feet in length.

In conſequence of this calculation, Micromegas uttered theſe words. "I am "now more than ever convinced, that we "ought to judge of nothing by its exter-"nal magnitude. O God! who haſt be-"ſtowed underſtanding upon ſuch ſeem-"ingly contemptible ſubſtances, thou "can'ſt with equal eaſe produce that which "is infinitely ſmall, as that which is in-"credibly great: and if it be poſſible, that "among thy works there are beings ſtill "more diminutive than theſe, they may, "nevertheleſs, be endowed with under-"ſtanding ſuperior to the intelligence of "thoſe ſtupendous animals I have ſeen in "heaven, a ſingle foot of whom is larger "than this whole globe on which I have "alighted." One of the philoſophers bid him be aſſured, that there were intelligent beings much ſmaller than man, and recounted not only Virgil's whole fable of the bees, but alſo deſcribed all that Swammerdam hath diſcovered, and Reaumur diſſected.

diſſected. In a word, he informed him, that there are animals which bear the ſame proportion to bees, which bees bear to man; the ſame as the Sirian himſelf was to thoſe vaſt beings whom he had mentioned; and as thoſe huge animals were to other ſubſtances, before whom they would appear like ſo many particles of duſt. Here the converſation became very intereſting, and Micromegas proceeded in theſe words.

CHAP. VII.

A converſation that paſſed between our travellers and the men they had encountered.

"O Ye intelligent atoms, in whom the ſupreme Being hath been pleaſed to manifeſt his omniſcience and power, without all doubt your joys on this earth muſt be pure and exquiſite: for being unincumbered with matter, and to all appearance, little elſe than ſoul, you muſt ſpend your lives in the delights of love and reflexion, which are the true enjoyments of a perfect ſpirit. True happineſs I have no where found; but, certainly here it dwells." At this harrangue, all the philoſophers ſhook their heads, and one among the reſt more candid than his brethren, frankly owned, that excepting a very ſmall number of inhabitants who were very little eſteemed by their fellows, all the reſt were a parcel of knaves, fools and miſerable wretches. "We have matter enough," ſaid he, "to do abundance of miſchief; if miſchief comes of matter; and too much underſtanding,

"if

" if evil flows from underſtanding: you " muſt know, for example, that this very " moment, while I am ſpeaking, there are " one hundred thouſand animals of our " our ſpecies, covered with hats, ſlaying " an equal number of fellow creatures who " wear turbans; at leaſt, they are either " ſlaying or ſlain: and this hath been near- " ly the caſe, all over the earth, from time " immemorial." The Sirian ſhuddering at this information, begged to know the cauſe of thoſe horrible quarrels among ſuch a puny race; and was given to underſtand, that the ſubject of the diſpute was ſome pitiful mole-hill no bigger than his heel: not that any one of thoſe millions who cut one another's throats, pretends to have the leaſt claim to the ſmalleſt particle of that clod; the queſtion is to know, whether it ſhall belong to a certain perſon, who is known by the name of Sultan, or to another whom (for what reaſon I know not) they dignify with the appellation of Cæſar. Neither one nor t'other has ever ſeen, or ever will ſee the pitiful corner in queſtion, and ſcarce one of thoſe wretches who ſacrifice one another, hath ever beheld the animal on whoſe account they are mutually ſacrificed!

"AH miſcreants!" cried the indignant "Sirian, "ſuch exceſs of deſperate "rage is beyond conception. I have a "good mind to take two or three ſteps "and trample the whole neſt of ſuch ridi-"culous aſſaſſins under my feet." "Don't "give yourſelf the trouble," replied the philoſopher, "they are induſtrious enough "in procuring their own deſtruction; at "the end of ten years the hundredth part "of thoſe wretches will be no more: for, "you muſt know, that though they ſhould "not draw a ſword in the cauſe they have "eſpouſed, famine, fatigue, and intem-"perance would ſweep almoſt all of them "from the face of the earth. Beſides, the "puniſhment ſhould not be inflicted upon "them, but upon thoſe ſedentary and "ſlothful barbarians, who from their cloſe-"ſtools, give orders for murthering a "million of men, and then ſolemnly thank "God for their ſucceſs."

OUR traveller moved with compaſſion for the little humane race in which he diſcovered ſuch aſtoniſhing contraſts, "Since "you are of the ſmall number of the wiſe," ſaid he; "and in all likelihood, do not "engage yourſelves in the trade of mur-

"der

" der for hire; be ſo good as to tell me " what is your occupation?" " We anato- " tomize flies," replied the philoſopher, " we meaſure lines, we make calculations, " we agree upon two or three points which " we underſtand, and diſpute upon two or " three thouſand that are beyond our com- " prehenſion." Then the ſtrangers being ſeized with the whim of interrogating thoſe thinking atoms, upon the ſubjects about which they were agreed, " How far," ſaid the Sirian, " do you reckon the diſtance between " the great ſtar of the Conſtellation Gemini, " and that called Caniculus?" To this queſtion all of them anſwered with one voice, " thirty two degrees and an half." " And " what is the diſtance from hence to the " moon?" " Sixty ſemidiameters of the " earth." He then thought to puzzle them, by aſking the weight of the air; but they anſwered diſtinctly, that common air is about nine hundred times ſpecifically lighter, than an equal column of the lighteſt water, and nineteen hundred times lighter than current gold. The little dwarf of Saturn, aſtoniſhed at their anſwers, was now tempted to believe thoſe very people ſorcerers, whom but a quarter of an hour before, he would not allow to be inſpired with ſouls.

WELL," ſaid Micromegas, " ſince you " know ſo well what is without you, doubt- " leſs, you are ſtill more perfectly ac- " quainted with that which is within; tell " me what is the ſoul, and how your " ideas are framed?" Here the philoſophers ſpoke all together, as before; but each was of a different opinion: the eldeſt quoted Ariſtotle; another pronounced the name of Deſcartes; a third mentioned Mallebranche; a fourth, Leibnitz; and a fifth, Locke: an old peripatician lifting up his voice, exclaimed with an air of confidence, " The ſoul is perfection and reaſon, having " power to be ſuch as it is:" as Ariſtotle expreſly declares, page 633. of the Louvre edition.

Εντελεχεία τις ἔστι, καὶ λόγος τῦ δυνάμιν ἔχοντος τοιῦδ' εἶναι.

" I AM not very well verſed in Greek," ſaid the giant: " Nor I neither," replied the philoſophical mite. " Why then do " you quote that ſame Ariſtotle in Greek?" reſumed the Sirian: " Becauſe," anſwered the other, " it is but reaſonable we ſhould " quote what we do not comprehend, in a " language we do not underſtand."

HERE

HERE the Carteſian interpoſing, "The "ſoul," ſaid he, "is a pure ſpirit or "intelligence, which hath received in the "mother's womb all the metaphyſical "ideas; but upon leaving that priſon, is "obliged to go to ſchool, and learn anew "that knowledge which it hath loſt, and "will never more attain." "So it was "neceſſary," replied the animal of eight leagues, "that thy ſoul ſhould be learned "in thy mother's womb, in order to be ſo "ignorant when thou haſt got a beard up-"upon thy chin: but, what doſt thou un-"derſtand by ſpirit?" "To what pur-"poſe aſk me that queſtion?" ſaid the philoſopher, "I have no idea of it: indeed "it is ſuppoſed to be immaterial." "At "leaſt, thou knoweſt what matter is?" reſumed the Sirian. "Perfectly well," anſwered the other. "For example, that "ſtone is grey, is of a certain figure, has "three dimenſions, ſpecifick weight, and "diviſibility." "Right," ſaid the giant, "I want to know what that object is, "which, according to thy obſervation, "hath a grey colour, weight and diviſibi-"lity? Thou ſeeſt a few qualities, but doſt "thou know the nature of the thing it-"ſelf?" "Not I truly," anſwered the Carteſian. Upon which the other told him, he

he did not know what nature was. Then addreſſing himſelf to another ſage who ſtood upon his thumb, he aſked what is the ſoul? and what are her functions? "No-"thing at all," replied this diſciple of Mallebranche, "God hath made every "thing for my convenience; in him I ſee "every thing, by him I act: he is the uni-"verſal agent, and I never meddle in his "work." "That is being a nonentity "indeed:" ſaid the Sirian ſage, who turning to a follower of Leibnitz, "Hark ye "friend what is thy opinion of the ſoul?" "In my opinion," anſwered this metaphyſician, "the ſoul is the hand that points at "the hour, while my body does the office "of a clock; or, if you pleaſe, the ſoul "is the clock, and the body is the pointer; "or again, my ſoul is the mirrour of the "univerſe, and my body the frame. All "this is clear and uncontrovertible."

A LITTLE partizan of Locke, who chanced to be preſent, being aſked his opinion on the ſame ſubject, "I do not know," ſaid he, "by what power I think: but "well I know, that I ſhould never have "thought without the aſſiſtance of my "ſenſes: that there are immaterial and "intelligent ſubſtances, I do not at all

"doubt;

" doubt; but that it is impoſſible for God " to communicate the faculty of thinking " to matter, I doubt very much. I revere " the eternal power to which it would ill " become me to preſcribe bounds: I affirm " nothing, and am contented to believe, " that many more things are poſſible, than " are uſually thought ſo." The Sirian ſmiled at this declaration, and did not look upon the author as the leaſt ſagacious of the company: and as for the dwarf of Saturn, he would have embraced this adherent of Locke, had it not been for the extreme diſproportion in their different ſizes. But, unluckily, there was another animalcule in a ſquare cap, who taking the word from all his philoſophical brethren, affirmed, that he knew the whole ſecret which was contained in the abridgement of St. Thomas: he ſurveyed the two celeſtial ſtrangers from top to toe, and maintained to their faces, that their perſons, their faſhions, their ſuns and their ſtars were created ſolely for the uſe of man. At this wild aſſertion our two travellers let themſelves tumble topſy turvy, being ſeized with a fit of that inextinguiſhable laughter, which (according to Homer) is the portion of the immortal Gods; their bellies quivered, their ſhoulders roſe and fell; and

and during theſe convulſions, the veſſel fell from the Sirian's nail into the Saturnian's pocket, where theſe worthy people ſearched for it a long time with great diligence. At length, having found the ſhip, and ſet every thing to rights again, the Sirian reſumed the diſcourſe with thoſe diminutive mites, promiſed to compoſe for them a choice book of philoſophy, which would teach them abundance of admirable ſciences, and demonſtrate the very eſſence of things. Accordingly, before his departure, he made them a preſent of the book, which was brought to the academy of ſciences at Paris; but when the old ſecretary came to open it, he ſaw nothing but blank paper, upon which "Ay, ay," ſaid he, "this is juſt what I ſuſpected."

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THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

The State of EUROPE.

WHEN thoſe wars commenced, this was the ſituation of affairs in Europe: Italy and the empire were torn in pieces; France ſtill weak; Spain divided between chriſtians and muſſulmen; theſe laſt being entirely chaced from Italy; England beginning to ſtruggle with her kings for liberty; the feudal government every where eſtabliſhed; chivalry in faſhion; prieſts become ſovereigns and warriors; a ſyſtem of policy almoſt intirely different from that which at preſent prevails in Europe: the countries that received the Roman

man communion, ſeemed to be one vaſt republic, of which the pope and emperor ſtrove who ſhould be the leader. This republic, though otherwiſe divided, had long agreed upon the project of thoſe Cruſades, which have produced ſuch great and ſuch infamous actions; ſpawned new kingdoms, new eſtabliſhments, new ſpecies of miſery, and in fine, brought forth much more miſchief than glory.

The State of the empire of the TURCOMANS.

RELIGIONS laſt always longer than empires. Mahometaniſm flouriſhed, though the empire of the Caliphs was deſtroyed by the nation of the Turcomans. A great deal of trouble has been taken in ſearching for the origin of this people; it was the ſame with that of all other people who were nothing elſe than meer conquerors. They have been all ſavages who lived by rapine. The Turks and Turcomans are ſaid to have formerly lived beyond mount Taurus, and Immaüs, at a great diſtance from the river Araxis. They were comprehended among thoſe Tartars whom the antients called Scythians: and the grand continent of Tartary, four times larger than

than Europe, was never inhabited by any other than barbarians; at leaſt, not ſince we have had the fainteſt knowledge of that part of the globe.

THEIR antiquities, therefore, no more deſerve a diſtinct hiſtory, than the wolves and tygers of their country. They ſpread themſelves towards Muſcovy about the the beginning of the eleventh century, and poured in inundations, upon the coaſt of the Caſpian and black ſea. The Arabians under the firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet, had ſubjected almoſt all the leſſer Aſia, Syria, and Perſia; at length the Turcomans came and ſubjected the Arabians: Bagdat, the ſeat of empire of the Caliphs, fell into the hands of thoſe new ravagers, about the year 1055.

TOGRUL BEG, or Ortogul Beg, from whom the Ottoman family is ſaid to be deſcended, entered Bagdat pretty much in the ſame manner as ſo many emperors have entered Rome. He made himſelf maſter of the city, while he proſtrated himſelf at the Caliph's feet. He even conducted the Caliph Caem to the palace, leading his mule by the bridle: but, he had either more addreſs or good fortune than the

the German emperors at Rome: for he eſtabliſhed himſelf in the ſovereign power; and left nothing to the Caliph, but the care of beginning prayers every Friday at the Moſque, and the honour of inveſting with their dominions, all thoſe Mahometan tyrants who had raiſed themſelves to the degree of princes.

IT muſt be remembered, that as the Turcomans imitated the Francs, Normans and Goths, in the manner of their irruption, they likewiſe copied their ſubmiſſion to the laws, manners, and religion of the vanquiſhed. In the ſame manner have the other Tartars behaved to the Chineſe; and this advantage has every polite nation, though weak, over a barbarous people who are their ſuperiors in power.

THE Caliphs, therefore, being now no more than chiefs of the religion, like the popes under the kings of Lombardy, the Turcoman princes aſſumed the name of Sultans; and among them, as well as in other countries, there ſoon appeared ſome men, who not only were, but deſerved to be illuſtrious.

The

The State of Constantinople.

The empire of Conſtantinople ſtill ſupported itſelf; becauſe all its princes were not unworthy to reign. Conſtantine Porphirogeneta, ſon of Leon the philoſopher, being himſelf well entitled to the ſame appellation, revived, like his father, the happineſs of his ſubjects: and though the government fell into contempt under Romanus the ſon of Conſtantine, it became reſpectable among the nations in the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, who before he was elected emperor, had retaken Candia from the Arabians in the year 961. Although John Zimiſces aſſaſſinated this Nicephorus, ſtaining the palace with blood, and added hypocriſy to the reſt of his crimes, he was otherwiſe a ſtout defender of the empire againſt the Turks and Bulgarians: but Sicily was loſt under Michael Paphlagonatus; and under Diogenes Romanus, almoſt all that remained in the Eaſt, except the province of Pontus. This province, which is now called Turcomania, ſoon fell under the dominion of the Turk Solyman, who being maſter of the greateſt part of leſſer Aſia, fixed the ſeat of his empire at Nicea, from whence he threatened Conſtantinople,

ſtantinople, at the beginning of the Cruſades.

THE Grecian empire was at that time, limited on the ſide of the Turks, almoſt to the walls of the imperial city, and ſome of the banks of the Propontis and black ſea: but it extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Theſſaly, Thrace, Illyrium, and ſtill poſſeſſed the iſland of Candia. The continual wars, though unfortunate, which it maintained againſt the Turks, ſtill kept alive a remnant of courage. All the rich Chriſtians of Aſia, who would not ſubmit to the Mahometan yoke, retired into the capital, which was enriched with the ſpoils of the provinces. In ſhort, notwithſtanding ſo many loſſes, ſo many crimes and revolutions at court, that city, though certainly waſted and decayed, being immenſe, populous, opulent and delightful, conſidered itſelf as the metropolis of the world. The inhabitants took the name of Romans, and the people of the Weſt, whom they called Latins, were in their eyes, no other than a crew of rebellious barbarians.

A true Picture of PALESTINE.

PALESTINE was juſt what it is at preſent, the worſt of all the inhabited countries of Aſia. This little province is in length, about forty five common leagues, and from thirty to thirty five in breadth: it is almoſt wholly covered with parched rocks, on which there is not one line of ſoil. If this ſmall territory were cultivated, it might not improperly, be compared to Swiſſerland. The river Jordan, about fifty feet over at its broadeſt part, is not unlike the Aar, which runs through the leaſt barren valley of the Swiſs; and the ſea of Cinnereth or Tiberiad, may be very aptly compared to the lake of Lauſanne. Nevertheleſs, thoſe travellers who have accurately examined both countries, give the preference in every thing to Switzerland. Judea in all probability, was better cultivated, while it remained in the poſſeſſion of the Jews; they were obliged to cover the rocks with a thin ſurface of earth, in order to rear their vines; and this ſmall pittance of mold mixed among the ſplinters of the rock, was ſupported with little ſtone terraces, of which the remains are here and there ſtill to be diſcerned.

PALESTINE, in ſpite of all their efforts, never could maintain its inhabitants: and in the ſame manner as the thirteen cantons ſend the ſuperfluity of their people, to ſerve in the armies of other princes for pay; ſo, the Jews went abroad and followed the trade of courtiers in Aſia and Africa. Scarce was Alexandria built, when they made ſettlements in that city. The trading Jews lived but little in Jeruſalem; and I very much queſtion, whether in the moſt flouriſhing times of that little ſtate, it could ever produce ſubjects ſo rich and opulent as many Hebrews that are now living at Amſterdam, the Hague, London and Conſtantinople.

WHEN Omar, the ſucceſſor of Mahomet, made himſelf maſter of the fertile plains of Syria, he likewiſe ſubdued the country of Paleſtine; and Jeruſalem being conſidered by the Mahometans as an holy city, he enriched it with a magnificent moſque built of marble, covered with lead, and adorned the inſide with a prodigious number of ſilver lamps, among which there was a good number of ſolid gold. When the Turks, already become Muſſulmen, conquered this country, about the year 1055, they

they reſpected this moſque, and the city ſtill remained peopled with about ſeven or eight thouſand inhabitants. Theſe were as many as at that time could live within its walls, or be maintained with the produce of its territory; and they had no other way of enriching themſelves, than by the pilgrimages of Chriſtians and Muſſulmen. The laſt went to viſit the moſque, the others, to adore the holy ſepulchre; but, all of them payed a ſmall duty to a Turkiſh emir reſiding in the city, and to ſome Iman, who lived by the curioſity of pilgrims.

The origin of the CRUSADES.

SUCH was the ſtate of Aſia Minor and Paleſtine, when a pilgrim of Amiens in Picardy, kindled up the flame of the Cruſades. He had no other name than Coucopietre, or Cucupierte, as we learn from the daughter of the emperor Commenius, who ſaw him at Conſtantinople; but, he is now known by the appellation of Peter the hermit. He called himſelf a gentleman, and pretended to have carried arms; but, be that as it will, this Picard, who had all the obſtinacy of his countrymen, was ſo affected with the inſults he had ſuffered

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at Jeruſalem, that on his return to Rome, he deſcribed them in a moſt emphatic manner, and drew ſuch a pathetic picture of his wrongs, that Urban the ſecond thought him a fit perſon to forward the great deſign the popes had formed to arm Chriſtendom againſt the religion of Mahomet.

GREGORY the ſeventh, a man of vaſt projects, was the firſt who conceived this plan of ſetting Europe and Aſia together by the ears; for, by his own letters it appeared, that he intended to put himſelf at the head of an army of Chriſtians. Urban the ſecond attempted one part of this enterprize; he ſent Peter from province to province, to inſpire by the force of his imagination, the ardour of his own ſentiments, and ſow the ſeeds of enthuſiaſm. He afterwards, in the year 1094, held a council near Placentia, in the open fields, at which, excluſive of eccleſiaſticks, were preſent upwards of thirty thouſand laymen; and there propoſed a ſcheme for revenging the chriſtians. Alexis Commenius the Greek emperor, and father of that princeſs who wrote the hiſtory of her own times, ſent ambaſſadors to this council, to demand ſuccour againſt the Muſſulmen; but

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it was neither from the pope, nor the Italians, he had any ſuch aſſiſtance to expect. About that time, the Normans had taken Naples and Sicily from the Greeks, and the pope deſirous of having, at leaſt, the nominal ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms; and beſides hating the Greek church, became of courſe an open adverſary to the Eaſtern, as he was a ſecret enemy to the Teutonic emperor. Far from ſupporting the Greeks, he therefore wanted to ſee their empire ſubjected to the Latins. However, the project for going to make war in Paleſtine, was extolled by every body at the council of Placentia, but nobody choſe to engage in it. The ſovereigns of Italy had buſineſs of their own to mind at home, and were not at all diſpoſed to quit a delicious country, in order to go and fight near the deſarts of Arabia. So that there was a neceſſity for calling another council, which in 1095, was held at Clermont in Auvergne, where the pope himſelf held forth in the market place. In Italy, they had wept over the ſufferings of the Aſiatic Chriſtians; in France the people armed for their defence. That country was then inhabited by a multitude of upſtart, reſtleſs, independent petty ſovereigns, in love with war and diſſipation, plunged for the

moſt part in thoſe crimes that attend debauchery, and in ſuch ignorance as their debauchery alone could equal. To theſe, the pope promiſed the remiſſion of all their ſins, and to ſet the gates of heaven wide open, provided they would, by way of penance, indulge the greateſt of their paſſions, namely, their love of war.

THEN they vied with each other in taking the croſs, and happy was he who could ſell his eſtate to furniſh him out for Paleſtine. Then did the churches and cloiſters purchaſe abundance of lands, from the infatuated owners, who thought all they wanted was a little ready money and arms to go and make conqueſts of whole kingdoms in Aſia. Godfrey of Bouillon, for example, duke of Brabant, ſold his eſtate of Bouillon, to the chapter of Liege, and Stenay to the biſhop of Verdun. His brother Baldwin ſold to the ſame biſhop what little he had in that country; the petty barons ſet out at their expence, and the poor gentlemen ſerved in quality of ſquires to the reſt. An incredible number of infantry and ſingle horſemen were enliſted under a thouſand different banners; and this multitude of Cruſards rendezvouſed at Conſtantinople, the greateſt part ignorant

of

of what road they ſhould take, or to what place they were going. Monks, women, merchants, ſutlers, workmen, all ſet out in ſhoals, fully perſuaded that they ſhould meet with none upon the road, but good chriſtians, who would be glad to gain indulgences, by ſupplying them with food and accommodation. Upwards of fourſcore thouſand of theſe vagabonds marched under the banners of Cucupietre, whom I ſhall always diſtinguiſh by the name of Peter the hermit, and he walked in ſandals, at the head of his army, with a rope round his middle.

THE firſt exploit of this eremetical general, was the ſiege of a chriſtian town in Hungary, called Malavilla; becauſe the inhabitants had refuſed proviſion to the ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, who notwithſtanding the ſanctity of their pretended expedition, behaved like ſo many thieves and highwaymen. The town was taken by aſſault, abandoned to pillage, and the inhabitants put to the ſword. The hermit was no longer able to reſtrain thoſe Cruſards, fired with the thirſt of blood and plunder. One of his lieutenants, called GAUTIER SANS ARGENT, who commanded one half of the troops, acted the ſame ſcenes

in Bulgaria: but, an aſſociation was ſoon made againſt thoſe banditti, who were almoſt quite exterminated; and at length the hermit in the year 1096, arrived before Conſtantinople, with twenty thouſand vagabonds ready to periſh for want.

A GERMAN preacher, called Godeſcal, who wanted to appear in the ſame character, was ſtill more roughly handled, when he arrived in that ſame Hungary where his predeceſſors had committed ſuch exceſſes. The red croſs they wore was like a ſignal, at ſight of which they were all maſſacred to a man. Another ſwarm of thoſe adventurers, conſiſting of more than two hundred thouſand ſouls, including women, prieſts, peaſants and ſcholars, believed the buſineſs was to defend Jeſus Chriſt, and took it for granted, that it was their duty to extirpate all the Jews that ſhould fall in their way. A great number were ſettled on the frontiers of France, and the whole commerce of the kingdom was in their hands; when the chriſtians, in order to revenge their God, and enrich themſelves, cut the throats of all thoſe wretched people. Since the reign of the emperor Adrian, that nation had never ſuſtained ſuch a bloody maſſacre: they

they were murthered at Verdun, Spires, Worms, Cologn and Mayence; numbers made away with themſelves, after having ript up the bellies of their own wives and children, rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of ſuch barbarians. Nevertheleſs, Hungary was again the tomb of this third army of Cruſards.

MEAN while, Peter the hermit, while he remained before Conſtantinople, was reinforced by other Italian and German ruffians, who joined his crew, and ravaged the neighbourhood of the city. The emperor Alexis Commenius, who reigned at that juncture, was without doubt, equally moderate and ſagacious; he might eaſily have treated theſe free-booters, with the fate of their companions: but, contenting himſelf with getting rid of ſuch gueſts as ſoon as poſſible, he furniſhed them with boats, in which they were tranſported to the other ſide of the Boſphorus; and at length general Peter ſaw himſelf at the head of a chriſtian army, ready to act againſt the infidels. Solyman, the Soldan of Nicea, with his warlike Turks, fell upon this diſperſed and undiſciplined multitude: GAUTIER SANS ARGENT, the hermit's lieutenant, periſhed with a great number of miſerable No-

BLESSE, who had been infatuated enough to march under ſuch colours. But the hermit returned to Conſtantinople, where he was looked upon as a fanatick, who had found means to make himſelf the chief of a parcel of deſperate madmen. This was not the caſe with other leaders of Cruſards, who were better politicians, leſs bigotted, more accuſtomed to command, and marched at the head of more regular troops. Godfrey of Bouillon carried along with him ſeventy thouſand infantry, and ten thouſand horſemen, armed cap-a-pee, under the banners of different noblemen; but all ſubject to his command: and with theſe he ſucceſsfully traverſed that ſame Hungary where the hermit's crew had been cut to pieces. In the mean time, Hugh, brother to Philip the firſt of France, marched through Italy, at the head of another aſſociation, in order to try his fortune: for, he had ſcarce any other ſettlement, than the title of brother to the king; an inheritance very inconſiderable of itſelf: but, what is more ſtrange is, that Robert duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of William the conqueror of England, quitted his dominions, in which he was hardly ſettled. Chaced from England by his younger brother William Rufus, he prevailed upon Normandy to contribute

tribute for the expence of his armament: and he is ſaid to have been a voluptuous and ſuperſtitious prince, two qualities that are derived from the ſame ſource of weakneſs.

Old Raymond, count of Toulouſe, maſter of Languedoc, and a good part of Provence, who had already warred againſt the Muſſulmen in Spain, could not find, either in his age, or the intereſt of his country, reaſon ſufficient to bridle his eager deſire of going to the holy land: he was therefore, one of the firſt who took up arms, and is ſaid to have croſſed the Alps at the head of an hundred thouſand men. He did not then foreſee that a Cruſade would ſoon be thundered out againſt his own family; and that his country would be ravaged by the ſame plague he was carrying into the bowels of Aſia.

The moſt politic of all the Cruſards, and perhaps the only politician among them, was Bohemond, ſon of that Robert Guiſchard, the conqueror of Sicily, which was rather uſurped under the emperors of the Eaſt, than vanquiſhed under the Muſſulmen. That whole family of Normans, tranſplanted into Italy, endeavoured to ag-

grandize themſelves, ſometimes at the expence of the pope, and ſometimes upon the ruins of the Greek emperor. They had already ſtrove to make a ſettlement in Epirus, where, as well as in Greece, this ſame Bohemond had of himſelf maintained a long war with the emperor Alexis. Though his whole inheritance conſiſted of no more than the little principality of Tarentum, and his own perſonal courage, he availed himſelf of the epidemical enthuſiaſm of the Europeans, and aſſembled under his banner, full ten thouſand cavaliers well armed, and ſome infantry, in order to conquer provinces, whether they belonged to the followers of Chriſt or Mahomet.

THE princeſs Ann Commenius ſays, that her father was alarmed at thoſe portent'ous emigrations that poured upon his country. "One would have thought," ſays ſhe, "that Europe, looſened from its foundati-"ons, was going to tumble upon Aſia." What then muſt have been the caſe, if upwards of three hundred thouſand men, ſome of whom followed Peter the hermit, and ſome Godeſcal the prieſt, had not already diſappeared?

It was propoſed to the pope, that he ſhould put himſelf at the head of thoſe immenſe armies that ſtill remained; as being the only means to attain to that univerſal monarchy which was now become the object of the court of Rome. But, ſuch an enterprize, which Gregory the ſeventh would have attempted, required the genius of an Alexander. The obſtacles were great, and Urban did not overlook them. He contented himſelf with the hope that churches would be founded in the Eaſt, which ſhould be ſubject to that of Rome, and that the Greeks would in a little time be obliged to own the ſupremacy of the holy ſee. The pope and the ſeveral princes of the Cruſade, had each his ſeparate views in this grand apparatus, and Conſtantinople was afraid of the whole. There the Latins were hated as hereticks and barbarians: for, the Grecian eccleſiaſticks thought it horrible, that the Latin prieſts who followed the army in ſhoals, ſhould be continually embruing their hands in human blood; not that thoſe Greeks were more virtuous, but, becauſe it was not the cuſtom of their country, for the prieſts to go to battle.

THE Greeks were moſt afraid, and had moſt reaſon to be ſo, of Bohemond and his Neapolitans, the declared enemies of their empire: but, ſuppoſing his intentions to have been pure, what right had all thoſe princes of the Weſt, to come and conquer for themſelves, the very provinces which the Turks had torn from the Greek emperors? Alexis had implored a ſupply of ten thouſand men, and inſtead of obtaining his requeſt, he found himſelf, on the contrary, oppreſſed by the irruption of ſeven hundred thouſand Latins, who came at one another's heels, not to defend, but to lay waſte his country.

ONE may judge of the arrogance and ferocity of thoſe gentlemen Cruſards, by a ſtory which the princeſs Ann Commenius reports of ſome French count, who at a public ceremony, went up to the throne and ſat down upon the emperor's right hand. Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon, pulling this unmannerly Cruſard by the arm, in order to make him retire, the count exclaimed aloud, in the barbarous jargon of thoſe times, "There's an "impertinent Greek ruſtick, to ſit down "before perſons of our quality." The emperor

emperor Alexis did nothing but ſmile, when this exclamation was interpreted to him. One or two ſuch inſtances of indiſcretion are ſufficient to diſcredit a whole people: but the Cruſards had no occaſion to ſhew thoſe ſtrokes of character to render themſelves hateful to the Greeks, and ſuſpected to the emperor. It was morally impoſſible that ſuch gueſts ſhould not demand proviſions with inſolence, and be refuſed by the Greeks with malice. This was a continual ſubject of quarrel between the people of the town and the army of Godfrey, who was the firſt that appeared after the ravages of Peter the hermit and his banditti. Godfrey proceeded ſo far as to attack the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, and the emperor defended them in perſon. The biſhop of Puy in Auvergne, whoſe name was Montiel, legate for the pope, in the armies of the Cruſade, actually propoſed to begin the enterprize againſt the infidels, with the ſiege of that city, in which the firſt prince of Chriſtendom reſided. This too was the advice of Bohemond, who was then in Sicily, and ſent courier upon courier to prevent an accommodation betwixt Godfrey and the emperor. Hugh, brother to the king of France, was, about that time, ſo imprudent as to quit Sicily and Bohemond, and to land almoſt quite alone,

upon

upon the territory of Alexis: to this he added another piece of indiſcretion, by writing to him letters full of pride and preſumption, very ill becoming a man who had no army at his back: in conſequence of this conduct, he was apprehended and detained ſome time in captivity. At length the emperor, by his policy, found means to direct all thoſe impending ſtorms. He furniſhed them with proviſions; and having engaged all the leaders to do him homage for the countries they ſhould conquer, he gave them ſucceſſively, a paſſage into Aſia, after he had loaded them with preſents.

BOHEMOND, whom he chiefly dreaded, was the perſon he treated with moſt magnificence. When that prince came to do him homage at Conſtantinople, and was conducted through the palace to ſee the curioſities, Alexis had ordered a cabinet to be filled with the moſt coſtly moveables wrought in gold and ſilver, and all ſorts of jewels heaped together without order. The door of this cabinet being left half open, Bohemond in paſſing, perceived the treaſure, to which his conductors affected to pay no regard or attention. "Is it poſ-
"ſible," cried he, "that ſuch precious
"things are neglected? if they were mine,
"I ſhould think myſelf the moſt powerful
"prince

" prince on earth." That ſame evening, the emperor ſent him the whole cabinet in a preſent. This circumſtance is related by his own daughter, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole tranſaction. Such was the behaviour of a monarch, whom every diſintereſted perſon will allow to have been wiſe and liberal; though the greateſt part of thoſe who have writ the hiſtory of the Cruſades, repreſent him as a perfidious prince, becauſe he would not be the ſlave of ſuch a dangerous multitude. In fine, when he had happily diſencumbered himſelf of this mob, and the whole had paſſed over into leſſer Aſia, they were reviewed near Nicea, and found to be an hundred thouſand horſemen, and ſix hundred thouſand foot, including the women who followed the camp. This number joined to thoſe of the firſt Cruſades, who periſhed under the hermit and other commanders, make the whole amount to about a million and one hundred thouſand, and juſtifies what hath been ſaid of the armies of the kings of Perſia, that formerly deluged Greece, as well as what is recorded concerning the migrations of ſo many barbarians. The French, eſpecially thoſe under Raymond of Tholouſe, traverſed in this expedition, the very ſame ground which the

the Southern Gauls had over-run, about thirteen hundred years before, when they went to ravage Aſia Minor, and gave their name to the province of Galatia.

HISTORIANS very ſeldom tell us how ſuch vaſt multitudes are maintained. This was a taſk of equal importance with the war itſelf. The Venetians at firſt declined the charge of victualling the army: for, they had enriched themſelves more than ever, by their commerce with the Mahometans, and were afraid of loſing the privileges they enjoyed in Aſia, by intermeddling in ſuch a doubtful war. But, the Genoeſe, the Piſans, and the Greeks, fitted out veſſels laden with proviſions, which they ſold to the Cruſards, along the coaſt of leſſer Aſia: by theſe means, part of the gold and ſilver of which the Gauls had unfurniſhed themſelves, returned again to Chriſtendom; the fortune of the Genoeſe began to fill, and in a little time the world was aſtoniſhed to ſee Genoa become a formidable power. Neither old Solyman nor his ſon could reſiſt the firſt torrent of ſo many Cruſard princes: their troops were better choſen than thoſe of Peter the hermit, and as well diſciplined as the licenſe of enthuſiaſm would allow.

NICEA

NICEA was taken in the year 1097, and the army of young Solyman twice diſcomfited. The Turks and Arabians could not at firſt ſuſtain the ſhock of ſuch multitudes caſed in iron, nor the weight of their large war horſes, nor bear the brunt of their groves of lances, to which they were not accuſtomed. Bohemond in the year 1098, was artful enough to prevail upon the reſt of the Cruſards, to gratify him with the fruitful country of Antioch. Baldwin penetrating as far as Meſopotamia, made himſelf maſter of the city Edeſſa, and there erected a ſmall ſovereignty. At length, they ſat down before Jeruſalem, which the caliph of Ægypt had ſeized by his lieutenants. Moſt hiſtorians alledge, that the army of the beſiegers being diminiſhed by battles, ſickneſs, and garriſons draughted for the conquered places, was reduced to twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and that Jeruſalem well provided with all neceſſaries, was defended by a garriſon of forty thouſand ſoldiers. They even add, that excluſive of this garriſon, it contained twenty thouſand effective and reſolute inhabitants. But every ſenſible reader muſt perceive, that it is morally impoſſible for an army of twenty thouſand men,

men, to beſiege three times their number in a fortified place. Beſides, if Jeruſalem before the ſiege, contained twenty thouſand fighting men, the whole number of its inhabitants muſt have amounted to threeſcore thouſand, excluſive of the garriſon; and it is hardly poſſible, that ſuch a country, waſted as it was, could ſupport the fifth part of the number, within the walls. In a word, would not ſixty thouſand Turkiſh and Arabian ſoldiers, have ventured to attack twenty thouſand Chriſtians in open field? would not they have ruined that ſmall army of beſiegers, by continual ſallies?—But hiſtorians always delight in the marvellous. What we can advance as truth, is, that after a ſiege of no more than five weeks, in the year 1099, the city was taken by aſſault, and every perſon within it (Chriſtians excepted) was put to the ſword, in a maſſacre that laſted ſeveral days, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Peter the hermit was preſent at this exploit, from a general metamorphoſed into a chaplain; and ſome Chriſtians, whom the Muſſulmen had allowed to live in the city, conducted the conquerors into caves and lurking places, where the mothers concealed themſelves and their children; ſo that nothing eſcaped their fury.

THE leaders, who were now maſters of Jeruſalem, being aſſembled to give a king to Judea, the prieſts who followed the army, came into the aſſembly, and declared void the election they were going to make, on pretence that a patriarch was to be made, before a ſovereign ſhould be choſen. Mean while Godfrey of Bouillon was elected, not king but duke of Jeruſalem; and ſome months after, a legate from the pope, arrived, called Daim-barto, whom the clergy nominated patriarch. The firſt thing this new patriarch did, was to take poſſeſſion of the city, for himſelf; and Godfrey, who had won it at the expence of his blood, was obliged to yield his conqueſt to a biſhop. He reſerved to himſelf, however, the port of Joppa, and ſome impoſts in Jeruſalem, which could not be very conſiderable in ſuch a deſolated country. His paternal eſtate was worth a great deal more than all his acquiſitions in Paleſtine. The ſame circumſtances will produce the ſame effects. The ſucceſſors of Mahomet, when they had conquered ſo many provinces, were divided by diſcord. The Cruſards experienced nearly the ſame fate: they conquered leſs, and diſunited more. Here are already three petty independencies formed all of a ſudden, in Aſia; namely,

Antioch,

Antioch, Edeſſa, and Jeruſalem. In a few years after, a fourth was erected in Tripoli in Syria, which fell to young Bertrand, ſon of the count de Thoulouſe; but Tripoli could not be conquered, without having recourſe to the ſhips of the Venetians, who now embarked in the Cruſade, and ſeized for themſelves a part of that new conqueſt.

ALL thoſe new princes had promiſed to do homage for their acquiſitions to the Greek emperor; but not one of them kept his word, and they became jealous of each other. In a little time thoſe dominions being divided and ſubdivided, paſſed into a great many different hands; and here, as in France, little Signories ſtarted up, ſuch as the counts of Joppa, and the marquiſſes of Galilee, Sydon, Acra and Ceſarea.

SOLYMAN, though he had loſt Antioch and Nicea, ſtill kept the field: beſides, the country was ſtill inhabited by colonies of Muſſulmen; and under this Solyman, as well as after his time, there was in Syria and Aſia Minor, a ſtrange mixture of Chriſtians, Turks and Arabians, continually at war with one another. A Turk lived in the

the neighbourhood of a Chriſtian, as in Germany, the eſtates of Proteſtants and Roman Catholicks, are mutually intermingled.

Of all that million of Cruſards, very few remained: yet at the noiſe of their ſucceſs, exaggerated by report, new ſwarms ſet out from the Weſt. Prince Hugh, brother of Philip the firſt, having before the taking of Jeruſalem, returned to France, without being able to obtain any thing from the king, aſſembled a new multitude, ſwelled with Germans and Italians. They are ſaid to have amounted to three hundred thouſand; but, if we cut off one third of that number, there will remain two hundred thouſand men, of whom he defrauded Chriſtendom. Theſe, in their way to Conſtantinople, were treated pretty much like the followers of Peter the hermit; thoſe who landed in Aſia, were deſtroyed by Solyman; and prince Hugh being almoſt quite deſerted, gave up the ghoſt in Aſia Minor.

But, perhaps, nothing ſo clearly demonſtrates the weakneſs of the new principality of Jeruſalem, as the inſtitution of thoſe religious orders, called the Templars and Hoſpitallers, which happened in 1092. Theſe

Theſe devotees, deſtined at firſt for the ſervice of the ſick that were in the hoſpitals, muſt have been in danger of their lives, when they took up arms: beſides, when a community is well regulated, it is not uſual to form particular aſſociations. Thoſe who were conſecrated to the ſervice of the wounded, having made a vow to ſignalize themſelves in arms, about the year 1118, formed themſelves all of a ſudden, into an uniform militia, under the name of Templars, a title they aſſumed, becauſe they were quartered by the church which was ſaid to have been formerly the temple of Solomon. Theſe inſtitutions are to be attributed to the French only: Raymond Dupuis, firſt grand maſter and inſtitutor of the militia or order of Hoſpitallers, was a native of Dauphiny; and the founders of the Templars were of the ſame nation. No ſooner were theſe two orders eſtabliſhed by papal bulls, than they grew rich, and rivalled each othet. Nay, they as often fought againſt one another, as againſt the Mahometans. The white habit of the Templars, and the black robe of the Hoſpitallers, were continual ſignals to battle. Soon after, another order was inſtituted in favour of the Germans that were abandoned in Paleſtine; this was the order of Teutonic monks, which afterwards

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in Europe, became a militia of conquerors.

In a word, the ſituation of the Chriſtians, was ſo precarious, and unſtable, that Baldwin the firſt king of Jeruſalem, who reigned after the death of his brother Godfrey, was taken almoſt at the very gates of the city, by a turkiſh prince, whoſe widow rather choſe to releaſe him in a little time, for a ſum of money, than to revenge by his death, the ſack of Jeruſalem.

The conqueſts of the Chriſtians, dwindled every day: for the firſt conquerors were now no more; and their ſucceſſors were enervated. Edeſſa was already retaken in 1140, and Jeruſalem menaced by the Turks. The Greek emperors finding their neighbours, the princes of Antioch, were no other than new uſurpers, made war upon them, not without good reaſon. The Aſiatic Chriſtians, ready to be ſwallowed up on all ſides, ſollicited a new Cruſade in Europe. The popes were equally intereſted to defend ſo many churches, which augmented their prerogative and wealth.

France began the firſt inundation; and to her they applied for a ſecond. Pope Eugenius the third, an apt diſciple of St.

Bernard, the founder of Clairvaux, wiſely choſe his firſt maſter to be the inſtrument of a new depopulation.

NEVER did any monk reconcile the hurry of affairs, with the auſterity of his order, better than this ſame Bernard: no perſon had, like him, attained to that point of perſonal importance, which is even above authority itſelf. His cotemporary the abbé Suger was prime miniſter of France; and his diſciple Eugenius was pope; but Bernard, though nothing more than a ſimple abbé, was the oracle of France and all Europe.

AT Vezelai in Burgundy, in the year 1146, a ſcaffold was erected in the market place, on which Bernard appeared with Lewis the *young*, king of France: he ſpoke firſt, and the king ſeconded his harangue; every man preſent took the croſs in imitation of the king, who firſt of all received it from the hands of St. Bernard. Suger the miniſter was not of opinion that the king ſhould abandon the certain intereſt and advantage of his dominions, in order to attempt uncertain conqueſts in Syria; but, the eloquence of Bernard, together with the ſpirit of the times, without which that eloquence would have been of

no ſignification, tranſported him to act contrary to the advice of his miniſter.

LEWIS the *young* is repreſented as a prince rather abounding with ſcruples, than with virtue. In one of thoſe petty civil broils, which the feudal government rendered inevitable in France, the king's troops had burned the church of Vitri, and the people who had taken refuge in it, periſhed in the flames: the king was eaſily perſuaded, that in Paleſtine only he could expiate that crime, which might have been much better attoned at home, by a wiſe and juſt adminiſtration. His young wife Eleonara of Guienne, attended him in the Cruſade, whether ſhe at that time, really loved him, or that it was the punctilio of the times, for ladies to accompany their huſbands in thoſe expeditions.

BERNARD had acquired ſuch ſingular influence, that in a new aſſembly at Chartres, he was actually choſen chief of the Cruſade: a circumſtance that ſeems almoſt incredible: a king of France was preſent, and their election fell upon a monk! but the infatuation of mankind is altogether unaccountable. However, St. Bernard had too much ſagacity to expoſe himſelf to the ridicule that threatened his accep-

tance: the example of Peter the hermit was ſtill recent; and therefore he wiſely declined the command.

FROM France, he betook himſelf to Germany, where finding another monk preaching up a Cruſade, he ſilenced that rival who had no miſſion from the pope; and at length from his own hand, gave the red croſs to the emperor Conrad the third, together with a public promiſe of victories over the infidels.

THE hope of certain conqueſt, drew after the emperor and kings of France, the greateſt part of the gentlemen in their dominions. For, each of the two armies were reckoned to number ſeventy thouſand men at arms, and a prodigious body of light horſe, without including the common foot ſoldiers. Saint Bernard ſays in his letters, that in many towns, none but women and children remained; and a diſtaf and ſpindle was ſent to every man who was able and not willing to be a Cruſard: nay, the greateſt part of the wives followed their huſbands. We cannot reduce this ſecond migration, to leſs than three hundred thouſand ſouls, which joined to the thirteen hundred thouſand we have reckoned in the preceding expeditions, make at this epocha,

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one million ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants, tranſorted from their native ſoil. The Germans ſet out firſt, and were followed by the French.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that a great part of thoſe multitudes, were ſwept off by the diſeaſes produced from a change of climate. In the year 1147, intemperance occaſioned a mortality in the army of Conrad, encamped upon the plains of Conſtantinople; from whence a report was ſpread through the Weſt, that the Greeks had poiſoned all the wells and fountains. The ſame exceſſes committed by the firſt Cruſards, were repeated by their ſucceſſors; and renewed in Manuel Commenius, the ſame alarms which had been raiſed in the breaſt of his grandfather Alexis.

Conrad having paſſed the Boſphorus, conducted himſelf with that imprudence, which was peculiar to thoſe expeditions. The principality of Antioch ſtill ſubſiſted: he might have joined theſe Chriſtians of Syria, and waited for the king of France; then they muſt have conquered by dint of numbers: but the German emperor, equally jealous of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, penetrated into the

very middle of leſſer Aſia, where the ſultan of Iconium, more dextrous than he, allured among the rocks his heavy cavalry, fatigued, reluctant, and incapable of acting on ſuch ground, where the Turks had nothing to do, but to take the trouble of killing. The emperor wounded, with no more than an handful of fugitives, eſcaped towards Antioch, and from thence travelled to Jeruſalem as a pilgrim, inſtead of making his entrance as general of an army. The famous Frederick Barberoſſa, his nephew and ſucceſſor in the empire of Germany, attended him in this expedition, and learned among the Turks to exerciſe that courage which the popes afterwards put to much more extraordinary proofs.

THE enterprize of Lewis the young, met with the ſame ſucceſs. It muſt be owned, that if thoſe who accompanied him, had not more prudence than the Germans, they had certainly much leſs juſtice on their ſide. Scarce had they arrived in Thrace, when the biſhop of Langres propoſed, that the king ſhould make himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople, according to the ſcheme of the pope's legate in the firſt Cruſade: but the diſgrace of ſuch an action being

being too ſure, and the ſucceſs too uncertain, the French army paſſed the Helleſpont, following the footſteps of the emperor.

Every reader, I ſuppoſe, hath obſerved that thoſe powerful chriſtian armies, carried on the war in the very ſame countries where Alexander with a much ſmaller number of troops, never failed to gain the victory over enemies incomparably more puiſſant than the Turks and Arabians were at this juncture: wherefore, there muſt have been ſome radical defect in the military diſcipline of the Cruſard leaders, which rendered their courage of no ſignification. That was, probably, no other than the ſpirit of independance which the feudal government had eſtabliſhed in Europe; ſo that diſorderly multitudes were conducted through unknown countries, by chiefs without art and experience.

In the year 1149, the king of France being, like the emperor, ſurpriſed among the rocks, in the territory of Laodicea, was likewiſe diſcomfited; but he ſuffered at Antioch certain domeſtic misfortunes, that touched him more ſenſibly than the calamities of the public.

RAYMOND, prince of Antioch, to whom he fled for protection, with his wife Eleonora, was ſuſpected of an amour with that princeſs. Nay, ſhe is even ſaid to have forgot all the fatigues of ſuch an unfortunate voyage, in the arms of a young Turk of extraordinary beauty, called Saladin. The concluſion of the whole enterprize was this. The emperor Conrad returned to Germany, almoſt alone; and the king brought back to France not a ſoul but his wife and a few courtiers. At his return, however, he divorced himſelf from Eleonora of Guienne, and thus parted with that fine province, after having loſt in Aſia the moſt flouriſhing army that ever his country had ſent into the field: ſo that a thouſand ruined families inveighed bitterly againſt St. Bernard.

AFTER theſe unfortunate expeditions, the Chriſtians of Aſia were more than ever divided among themſelves: and the ſame fury took poſſeſſion of the Muſſulmen. The pretext of religion had no longer any ſhare in their political intereſts. Nay, towards the year 1166, Amaury king of Jeruſalem, actually entered into league with the ſultan of Ægypt, againſt the Turks: but

but ſcarce had this king ſigned, when he broke the treaty. The hoſpitallers of St. John in Jeruſalem, aſſiſted him with their money and forces, which were very conſiderable, in hope of ſubduing Ægypt; but they were obliged to return, with the diſgrace of having violated their oath.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, aroſe Saladin the great, nephew to Noradin, ſultan of Aleppo; who conquered Syria, Arabia, Perſia and Meſopotamia. A templar, whoſe name was Melieu, forſook his order and religion, to ſerve under this conqueror, and bore a great ſhare in ſubjecting Armenia to his ſway. Saladin, maſter of ſo many countries, would not allow the kingdom of Jeruſalem to ſubſiſt in the middle of his dominions. That little royalty was torn to pieces, by violent factions that haſtened on its deſtruction. Guy of Luſignan, who had been crowned king, though his title was diſputed, aſſembled in Galilee, all the divided chriſtians whom the common danger had united, and marched againſt Saladin. The biſhop of Ptolemais, wearing a caſſock over his armour, and diſplaying a croſs in his hand, encouraged the troops to fight on that ſame ſpot where their God had wrought ſo many mi-

racles. But, notwithſtanding theſe exhortations, all the chriſtians were killed or taken. The captive king, who expected nothing but immediate death, was aſtoniſhed to ſee himſelf treated by Saladin, as in theſe our days, the priſoners of war are treated by the moſt humane generals. Saladin with his own hand preſented him with a cup of liquor cooled in ſnow: and Luſignan having drank, was going to give the cup to one of his captains, whoſe name was Renaud de Châtillon. It was an inviolable cuſtom among the Muſſulmen, and ſtill obſerved by ſome tribes of the Arabs, to ſpare the lives of thoſe priſoners to whom they had preſented refreſhment. This ancient right of hoſpitality was kept ſacred by Saladin, who would not ſuffer Renaud de Châtillon to drink after the king. That captain had ſeveral times broke his promiſe; the conqueror had ſwore he would puniſh him for his perfidy, and to ſhew that he knew how to avenge, as well as to forgive, he ordered the head of him, whom he looked upon as a perjured perſon, to be ſmitten off with one ſtroke of a ſabre. When he arrived in 1187, at the gates of Jeruſalem, which was no longer defenſible, he granted to Luſignan's queen, a capitulation that far exceeded her hope;

hope; and permitted her to retire whithersoever she pleased to go. He exacted no ransom from the Greeks that lived in the city, and but a very moderate one from the Latins. When he made his entry into Jerusalem, many women came and prostrated themselves before him, begging off their husbands, children or fathers that were in his chains; and he set them all at liberty, with a generosity which had been altogether without example, in that part of the world. He afterwards ordered the Mosque, which had been converted into a church, to be purified with rose-water, by the hands of the Christians themselves; then he placed in it a magnificent chair, at which his uncle Noradin, sultan of Aleppo, had worked with his own hand, and commanded these words to be engraven over the gate. "Saladin the king, the "servant of God, set up this inscription, "after God by his hands, had taken Jeru-"salem." Yet, notwithstanding his attachment to his own religion, he restored the church of the holy sepulchre to the Christians of the East. He that compares this conduct with that of the Christians, when they took the same city, will see with grief to what side the barbarians belonged. Nor must we forget, that Saladin at the end

of one year, ſet Guy of Luſignan at liberty, after he had ſwore he would never carry arms againſt his benefactor. An oath which he afterwards broke.

WHILE Aſia Minor thus became the ſcene of the blind zeal, glory, guilt and misfortune of ſo many thouſand Cruſards, the rage of propagating the goſpel ſword in hand, extended itſelf into the very bowels of the North.

THE world ſaw Charlemagne convert all the Northern part of the empire, called Saxony, with fire and ſword. It afterwards ſaw all Europe tremble at the feats of the Daniſh idolaters, who conquered Normandy, without once attempting to impoſe their idolatry upon the vanquiſhed. Chriſtianity was ſcarce eſtabliſhed in Denmark, ancient Saxony, and Scandinavia, when a Cruſade was preached up againſt the Pagans of the North, who being called Sclaves or Slaves, gave their name to that country which borders upon Hungary, and is now known by the appellation of Sclavonia. But at that time they lived along the eaſtern ſhore of the Baltic, inhabiting Ingria, Livonia, Samogitia, Courland, Pomerania and Pruſſia. The Chriſ-

tians took arms againſt them from Bremen to the extremity of Scandinavia: upwards of an hundred thouſand Cruſards imported miſery and deſtruction among thoſe idolaters, of whom they ſlew vaſt numbers, without making one convert. The Cruſade was ſoon at an end in ſuch a terrible country, where troops could not long ſubſiſt, and where the art of war was no more than the exerciſe of mutual rapine among ſavages. We may add the loſs of theſe hundred thouſand men to the one million ſix hundred thouſand which thoſe ſort of wars have coſt Europe.

MEAN while, nothing remained to the Chriſtians of Aſia, but Antioch, Tripoli, Joppa and the city of Tyre, heretofore queen of commerce, but now the wretched refuge of the vanquiſhed. Saladin poſſeſſed all the reſt, either by himſelf or his ſon-in-law, the ſultan of Iconium or Cogni, who governed that country which now goes by the name of Caramania.

EUROPE being troubled at the news of Saladin's victories, pope Clement the third ſtirred up France, England and Germany.

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PHILIP AUGUSTUS, who then reigned in France, and old Henry the ſecond, king of England, ſuſpended their differences, and excited all their emulation in marching to the relief of Aſia. Each publiſhed a declaration throughout his dominions, that all thoſe who would not take the croſs, ſhould pay the tenth of all their rents, goods and chattels, for the expence of the expedition: this is what is called Saladin's tythe: a tax that ſerved as a monument of glory to the conqueror.

FREDERICK BARBEROSSA, that emperor ſo famous for the perſecutions he underwent from the popes, and for the miſchiefs he made them ſuffer, took the croſs much about the ſame time, and was the firſt of them all that ſignalized himſelf. He ſeemed born to be the ſame among the Chriſtians of Aſia, that Saladin was among the Turks: being a conſummate politician, a great general tried in adverſity, and at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men. He took the precaution to decree, that no man ſhould engage in the Cruſade, who was not poſſeſſed to the amount of one hundred and fifty livres of our money in ready caſh; that

that each by his own means and induſtry, might help to prevent thoſe horrible dearths which had greatly contributed to the deſtruction of the preceding armies. He was firſt of all obliged to war with the Greeks: for the court of Conſtantinople fatigued with being continually threatened by the Latins, had at length, entered into alliance with Saladin. Europe exclaimed againſt this league, which was evidently indiſpenſible: for no power will league itſelf with a natural foe, unleſs compelled by neceſſity. Our preſent alliances with the Turks, though perhaps much leſs neceſſary, give not ſuch cauſe of offence. Frederick opened a paſſage into Thrace, ſword in hand, againſt the emperor Iſaac l'Ange; and having defeated the Greeks, he in the year 1190, gained two victories over the ſultan of Cogni; but, by bathing in a river, which is ſuppoſed to have been the Cidnus, while his pores were open, he was taken ill and died, ſo that his victories were of no ſervice. Without doubt, they had coſt him dear; for his ſon Frederick, duke of Suabia, of one hundred and fifty thouſand men who had followed his father, could re-aſſemble but ſeven or eight thouſand men at moſt, whom he conducted to Antioch, where he joined theſe wretched

wretched remains to thoſe of Guy of Luſignan king of Jeruſalem, who wanted to attack his conqueror again, in ſpite of the obligation of his oath, and the inequality of his arms.

AFTER ſeveral battles, none of which were deciſive, this ſon of Frederick Barberoſſa, who would have been emperor of the Weſt, loſt his life near Ptolemais, by a diſtemper which proved mortal to all the Germans that were in that climate. Thoſe who have affirmed that this prince died a martyr to his charity, and that he might have eſcaped his fate by the uſe of women, were bold panegyriſts, but very indifferent philoſophers. The ſame was afterwards reported of Lewis the eighth, king of France.

ASIA Minor was become an abyſs into which Europe ſeemed to throw itſelf headlong. Not only that immenſe army of the emperor Frederick was loſt, but fleets of Engliſh, French, Italians and Germans, even before the arrival of Philip Auguſtus, and Richard Cœur de Lion, had carried thither new Cruſards to increaſe the ſacrifice. At length, the kings of France and England, arrived in Syria, and ſat down before

before Ptolemais, which is alſo called Acra, or St. John of Acra. Almoſt all the chriſtians of the Eaſt, aſſembled together, to beſiege this city, which was looked upon as the key of thoſe countries; while Saladin was embarraſſed in a civil war, upon the banks of the Euphrates. When the two kings had made a junction of their forces with thoſe of the Oriental Chriſtians, the whole amounted to above three hundred thouſand fighting men.

So that Ptolemais was actually taken in the year 1190; but that diſcord which could not fail to divide two rivals in glory and intereſt, like Philip and Richard, did more miſchief, than all the ſucceſsful exploits of ſuch a vaſt army could recompence. Philip chagrined with thoſe jealouſies, and ſtill more ſo, at the ſuperiority and aſcendency which his vaſſal Richard aſſumed on all occaſions, returned into his own country, which, though perhaps he had better not have quitted, he ought to have reviſited with more honour.

Richard remaining maſter of the field of glory, though not of that multitude of Cruſards, who were now more divided among themſelves, than the two kings had been,

been, in vain diſplayed the moſt heroic courage. Saladin returning with conqueſt from Meſopotamia, gave battle to thoſe Cruſards, near Cæſarea, where that conqueror at the head of his Mahometans, and Richard generaliſſimo of the Chriſtians, were ſeen to fight hand to hand, like two knights in a tournament; and Richard had the glory to diſmount Saladin, which was almoſt all he got in that memorable expedition. Fatigue, diſeaſe, ſkirmiſhes and continual quarrels, in a little time ruined that great army, and Richard returned, indeed with more honour than Philip Auguſtus, but in a much more imprudent manner; for, he ſet ſail with one ſingle ſhip, from that coaſt of Syria, to which, but a year before, he had conducted a formidable fleet; and his veſſel being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Venice, he travelled in diſguiſe, and very poorly attended, through one half of Germany. By his haughty behaviour, he had in Syria affronted the duke of Auſtria; yet he was ſo indiſcreet as to paſs through his territories; the duke loaded him with chains, and delivered him to the emperor Henry the ſixth, by whom he was detained in priſon, as an enemy taken in the field of battle, and a ranſom of one hundred thouſand

ſand marks of ſilver put upon his head. Thus England loſt a great deal more than France, by this new Cruſade, in which one emperor, and two powerful and courageous kings, followed by ſuch an immenſe number of European forces, were not a match for Saladin alone.

THAT famous Muſſulman, who had made a treaty with Richard, by which he left the Chriſtians in poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſt from Tyre to Joppa, reſerving all the reſt to himſelf, faithfully kept his word, to which indeed he was a ſlave; and fifteen years after, being 1195, he died at Damaſcus, admired even by the Chriſtians. In his laſt illneſs, inſtead of an enſign, he ordered his winding ſheet to be hoiſted before his gate; and the officer that carried this ſtandard of death, cried with a loud voice, "Behold the ſole fruit of the victo-" ries obtained by Saladin conqueror of " the Eaſt."

HE is ſaid to have bequeathed in his will, equal diſtributions of charity to the poor of the Mahometan, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian perſuaſions; by theſe legacies giving the world to underſtand, that mankind is a community of brothers, and that in order

der to relieve their neceſſities, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but only what they ſuffer. Accordingly, he never perſecuted any perſon on account of his religion; and was at once, a good man, an hero and philoſopher.

THE ſpirit of the Cruſades was not yet extinguiſhed. The intereſt of popes, the preaching of monks, the punctilio of honour, the ſpirit of chivalry, and hope of conquering thoſe whom Godfrey of Bouillon had vanquiſhed before, conſpired to feed that flame which embroiled all Europe.

THE war that Philip Auguſtus maintained againſt England and Germany could not prevent a great number of French noblemen from taking the croſs. The chief mover of this new migration, was a Flemiſh prince, like Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the firſt. This was Baldwin count of Flanders, and the Cruſade he commanded, which may be called the fifth, conſiſted of four thouſand knights, nine thouſand ſquires, and twenty thouſand foot ſoldiers.

VENICE grew from day to day, a formidable republic, which maintained her commerce

merce by war. To her, therefore, it was neceſſary to apply, preferable to all the kings of Europe: for ſhe was in a condition to equip ſuch fleets as England, Germany and France could not at that time fit out. By this Cruſade theſe induſtrious republicans gained both money and dominions: in the firſt place, they exacted fourſcore and five thouſand marks of ſilver, for the bare tranſportation of the army; and ſecondly, they made uſe of that ſame army, reinforced with fifty gallies of their own, to make conqueſts in Dalmatia, from the Chriſtians, for the benefit of their republick. Pope Innocent excommunicated them, whether for the ſake of form, or that he was already afraid of their greatneſs: yet theſe excommunicated Cruſards, took Zara and its territory, which not a little augmented the power of the Venetians.

This Cruſade was different from all the others; for, it found Conſtantinople divided within itſelf; whereas the former expeditions of that ſort had to do with emperors well eſtabliſhed on the throne. The Venetians, together with the count of Flanders, and the marquis of Montſerrat; in a word the principal perſons, ever politic when

when the mob is violent and headſtrong, ſaw the time was now come for executing the old ſcheme againſt the Grecian empire.

THOUGH Iſaac l'Ange had been deprived of his liberty and eyeſight by his brother Alexis, his ſon was ſtill at the head of a party; and him the Cruſards joined with a moſt dangerous reinforcement. At their approach, the uſurper fled from Conſtantinople, and the Cruſards for having ſhewn themſelves, demanded of young Alexis, two hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, and the ſubmiſſion of the Greek to the Latin church. Such auxiliaries muſt have been equally odious to all parties.

THEIR camp without the city was continually filled with tumult: young Alexis deteſted by the Greeks, for having introduced ſuch gueſts, was ſoon ſacrificed to a new faction. One of his own relations, ſirnamed Myrſyflos or Myrtilla, ſtrangled him with his own hands.

THEN the Cruſards pretending to revenge the death of their creature, took advantage of the ſeditions that deſolated the city, and plundered it under colour of juſtice. They made their entrance almoſt without

without reſiſtance, and ſlaying all that fell in their way, gave a looſe to all the exceſs of avarice and fury.

Nicetas and Villehardoüen affirm, that the booty carried off by the French noblemen only, amounted to four hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, without reckoning jewels, furniture, horſes and equipages. Almoſt all the churches were pillaged; and what ſtrongly marks the character of the nation, which ſtill continues the ſame, the French danced with the ladies, in the ſanctuary of the church of St. Sophia; but that which no leſs characteriſes the Greeks, is, that they came in proceſſion with their clergy, to implore mercy of their deſtroyers, againſt whom they might have defended themſelves by force of arms. This was the firſt time the city of Conſtantinople was taken and plundered; and it was done by Chriſtians, who had taken a vow to fight with none but the enemies of the faith.

In all thoſe ſkirmiſhes that happened between the Greeks and Latins, ſince the firſt Cruſade; and particularly in the taking of Conſtantinople, it does not appear, that the wildfire ſo much boaſted of by hiſto-

hiſtorians, produced the leaſt effect. If it was ſuch as it hath been deſcribed, and even the water ſupplied it with fuel, it would always have turned the ſcale of victory, whether by ſea or land. If it reſembled our phoſphorus, or that ætherial oil which hath been lately diſcovered, it might indeed have been preſerved in water, but there it could not have acted; nor would the flame have been either very penetrating or very deſtructive. They add, that nothing would extinguiſh it, but urine, vinegar and ſand; and theſe are certainly the very means uſed to extinguiſh the flame of the ætherial oil: but, it ſeems a little improbable, that they ſhould always have had thoſe things at hand to quench the fire. In a word, notwithſtanding this ſecret, the Turks had made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the leſſer Aſia, and the Latins wreſted from them all that remained.

BALDWIN, count of Flanders, the moſt powerful man of thoſe Cruſards, forced the Greeks to elect him emperor; and this new uſurper condemned the other uſurper Myrtilla, to be thrown headlong from the top of an high column. The empire was divided among the reſt of the Cruſards.

The

The Venetians beſtowed upon themſelves the principal iſlands upon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, with that of Candia, and ſeveral cities of Phrygia, which had not yet ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke. The marquis of Montferrat ſeized upon Theſſaly. Villehardoüin, marſhal of Champaigne, took Achaïa, or what is properly called Greece. A gentleman of Burgundy whoſe name was Roche, poſſeſſed himſelf of Athens and Thebes, whence came the ſires of Thebes, and dukes of Athens. The lord of Aveſne in the county of Hainault, had the iſle of Eubœa or Negropont for his ſhare; ſo that Baldwin kept little elſe to himſelf, than Mœſia and Thrace. With regard to the pope, he gained, at leaſt for a time, a part of the eaſtern church, in which there were biſhopricks to give away, and ſums of money to receive. This conqueſt might, in time, have been worth a kingdom: for Conſtantinople was quite another thing than Jeruſalem.

Innocent the third beſtowed the pallium, which is the mark of metropolitan, upon Thomas Moroſini, a Venetian, who had been elected patriarch of Conſtantinople, by the Cruſards. And now the pa-

triarch of the Greeks was ſeen to take the oath of fidelity to the patriarch of Rome. Innocent wrote to Moroſini in theſe terms. "The holy ſee of Rome, hath raiſed your "church from the duſt, and given her "rank among the patriarchals." This pope in ſo ſaying, either was, or pretended to be ignorant of antiquity: but even ignorance often takes place of right.

THOSE Cruſards who deſtroyed their brother Chriſtians, might, more eaſily than their predeceſſors, have chaced the Turks out of Aſia: for, the dominions of Saladin were rent in pieces. But of ſo many knights who had made a vow to go to the ſuccour of Jeruſalem, none went into Syria, but a few of thoſe who had no ſhare in the ſpoils of the Greeks. Of that ſmall number was Simon de Montfort, who having in vain ſought a ſettlement in Greece and Syria, returned to France, and put himſelf at the head of a Cruſade againſt the Albigeois.

THERE yet remained a good many princes of the imperial family of the Comnenii, whoſe courage ſurvived the deſtruction of the empire: one of theſe who likewiſe bore the name of Alexis, made his retreat with

ſome

ſome ſhips, towards Colchis, and there between the ſea and mount Caucaſus, formed a petty ſovereignty which was called the empire of Trebizonde; ſo much was the word empire proſtituted in thoſe days: and that little ſtate ſubſiſted 'till the time of Mahomet the ſecond. Theodore Laſcaris, who retook Nicea, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in Bythinia, by making a ſeaſonable uſe of the Arabians againſt the Turks, took upon him, alſo, the title of emperor, and elected a patriarch of his communion.

OTHER Greeks, who were even in alliance with the Turks, called their ancient enemies the Bulgarians to their aſſiſtance, againſt the new emperor Baldwin of Flanders, who could ſcarce be ſaid to enjoy his conqueſt. Being defeated by them, near Adrianople, his legs and arms were cut off, and he expired a prey to the beaſts of the field.

AMONG thoſe ſhocks of ſo many ſtates, and in the midſt of ſuch devaſtations, thoſe who were called the Latin princes, did not preſerve their feeble empire at Conſtantinople, longer than eight and fifty years, that is, to the year 1261: and that ſmall period was not ſufficient to effect a total

re-union of the Greek and Roman churches. All that Rome could do, was to celebrate the ſervice in Latin, to a people who abhorred that language; and ſometimes to confer benefices on Italians. The Greek patriarch undermined the Latin patriarch. The Greeks hated the Roman Catholicks more than the Turks. At that very time France was deſolated by another Cruſade, carried on againſt other Chriſtians. The ſame that depopulated Languedoc, and exterminated the Albigeois. But, before we ſpeak of this, we muſt conclude thoſe of the Eaſt.

PEOPLE have wondered that the ſources of thoſe migrations, were not yet exhauſted: the contrary would have been as proper a ſubject of admiration. The minds of mankind were ſtill in commotion; the confeſſors, by way of penance, preſcribed expeditions to the Holy Land: the falſe reports that every day circulated, inſpired falſe hopes; ſo that from all the countries of Europe, armed pilgrims ſet out without any leaders, like ſo many knights errant.

A MONK of Brittany, whoſe name was Erloin, conducted a multitude of his countrymen into Syria, about the year 1204.

The

The widow of a king of Hungary took the croſs, together with ſome women who believed there was no other road to heaven, and gave up the ghoſt at Ptolemais. This epidemical diſtemper extended even to the children, thouſands of whom, under the conduct of ſchool-maſters and monks, quitted the houſes of their parents upon the ſtrength of theſe words. "Out of the "mouth of babes and ſucklings thou haſt "ordained ſtrength, becauſe of their ene-"mies." Their leaders ſold part of them to the Muſſulmen, and the reſt periſhed in a miſerable manner.

The moſt conſiderable ſtate which the Chriſtians had preſerved in Syria, was Antioch: for the kingdom of Jeruſalem, in effect much leſs conſiderable, exiſted no where but in Ptolemais. Nevertheleſs, it was the opinion of the Weſt, that there ſhould be a king of that denomination. Emery de Luſignan, the titular king, being dead about the year 1205, the biſhop of Ptolemais propoſed to go to France, and demand a king of Philip Auguſtus, in hope that with the new monarch, they would receive new ſupplies; accordingly Philip nominated a cadet of the family of Brienne in Champaign, who had little or

no patrimony of his own. So that one may judge of the ſtation by the choice of the king to ſupply it. Nevertheleſs, a great many knights joined this king of Jeruſalem, and each defrayed the expence of his voyage out of his own pocket.

THIS titular king of Judea, with thoſe knights, a number of Bretons, who had croſſed the ſea, ſeveral German princes who ſet out from time to time, a duke of Auſtria, a king of Hungary, called Andrew, attended by ſome pretty good troops, together with the Templars, Hoſpitallers, and biſhops of Munſter and Utrecht, might ſtill have compoſed a victorious army, could they have found a proper chief, which was what they always wanted.

THE king of Hungary having retired, a count of Holland undertook the taſk which ſo many kings and princes had not been able to perform; and the pope inveſted him with the title of conſtable of the Cruſards. The Chriſtians thought themſelves on the eve of being once more exalted. Their hopes were augmented by the arrival of a multitude of knights, who came under the auſpices of the pope's legate. The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, the biſhops

of

of Paris, Angers, Autun, and Beauvais, accompanied this legate with conſiderable forces. Four thouſand Engliſh and Italians arrived under different banners: in a word, John of Brienne, who had come to Ptolemais, almoſt alone, found himſelf at the head of near one hundred thouſand fighting men.

SAPHADIN, brother of Saladin, who had lately joined Ægypt to his other dominions, demoliſhed the remains of the walls of Jeruſalem, which was now no more than a ruinated town. The deſign of all the Cruſards was to retake this city; and the enterprize ſeemed eaſy, eſpecially towards the end of the reign of Saphadin, whoſe authority began to totter: but the firſt objects of an enterprize, always change with the times. Saphadin ſeemed but indifferently ſettled in Ægypt, and the Cruſards thought they could make themſelves maſters of that country. They were almoſt as near the Nile as the Jordan, and Ægypt was a better prize than Jeruſalem.

FROM Ptolemais, which the Chriſtians called St. John of Acra, there was a ſhort paſſage to the mouths of the Nile; and the ſhips that had tranſported them from

almoſt all the ports of Europe, carried them in three days to the ancient Peluſium.

NEAR to the ruins of this city, Damietta is built upon a cauſeway that defends it from the inundations of the Nile. It ſubſiſts to this day, and is reckoned the key of Ægypt. The Cruſards began the ſiege of this city, during the laſt illneſs of Saphadin, and carried it on after his death. Meledin, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in the throne, and was regarded as a prince who loved the laws, the ſciences and repoſe of peace, rather than war. His brother Corradin, ſultan of Damaſcus, who had Syria for his ſhare, came to his aſſiſtance againſt the Chriſtians; and the ſiege, which laſted two whole years, was memorable in Aſia, Africa, and Europe.

SAINT Francis d'Aſſiſe, who had juſt then eſtabliſhed his order, and detached his companions to all parts of the known world, repaired in perſon to the camp of the beſiegers, and imagining that he could eaſily convert the ſultan Meledin, advanced to the Ægyptian camp, accompanied by a fanatic frier. They were apprehended and brought before the ſultan, when St. Francis

Francis preached in Italian, a language which Meledin probably did not know; and propoſed that a large fire ſhould be kindled, into which the Turkiſh Imans on one ſide, and he with his fanatic companion on the other, ſhould throw themſelves; that he might ſee which was the true religion. Meledin anſwered with a ſmile, that his prieſts were not the men to commit themſelves to the flames for their religion; upon which Francis undertook to throw himſelf alone: but, the ſultan told him, that ſhould he accept his propoſal, he would ſeem to doubt his own religion; and in that caſe, would give umbrage to his people. He afterwards ſent Francis back with marks of his bounty, perceiving that he could not be a very dangerous ſpy. I ſhould not relate this tranſaction, were it not atteſted by hiſtorians who were preſent at the ſiege; and were it not a pregnant proof of what blind enthuſiaſm will inſpire.

MEAN while Damietta was taken after a ſiege of two years, and ſeemed to open a path for the conqueſt of Ægypt: but cardinal Pelagius Albano, a Spaniſh benedictine and legate of the pope, being reſolved to have the ſole command of the

army, was the cauſe of its deſtruction. He pretended, that the pope being chief of all the Cruſades, his repreſentative was inconteſtably their general; and that the king of Jeruſalem holding his royalty of the pope, ought to obey the legate in every particular. Certain it is, the cardinal had more influence than the king, who had no other way to defend his prerogative, than to retire from the army with ſome of the troops. Theſe diviſions conſumed time; there was a neceſſity for writing to Rome. The pope ordered the king to return to the camp; and the king in obedience to his order, was content to ſerve under the command of a benedictine.

THIS general cooped up the army between two branches of that river which maintains and defends Ægypt, juſt when it began to overflow its banks; and the ſultan, by means of ſluices, laid the Chriſtian camp under water, on one ſide, and burned their ſhips on the other. The Nile daily encreaſing, threatened to ſwallow up the legate's army, which was exactly in the ſame ſituation with the Ægyptians under Pharaoh, when they were ſaid to be in the midſt of the red ſea.

THE cotemporary writers of thoſe times agree, that in this extremity, a treaty was ſet on foot with the ſultan, who was pleaſed to liſten to their propoſals. He inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Damietta, and ſent back the army into Phœnicia, after he had made them ſwear they would not make war upon him for the ſpace of eight years; and detained king John of Brienne as an hoſtage. It is very ſurpriſing, that he ſhould favour them with ſuch gentle terms; but he is ſaid to have been the moſt humane prince on earth. One may add, that the Chriſtians, perhaps, had ſtill ſome reſources left, ſince they were not all ſold as ſlaves.

THEIR ſole hope now depended upon the emperor Frederick the ſecond, at that time engaged in a war againſt the popes, with whom it was more his intereſt to quarrel, than with the Turks. John of Brienne being releaſed, gave him his daughter in marriage, and made over his right to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, by way of dowry. And pope Gregory the ninth, who was much better inclined to ſend the emperor into Aſia, than to ſee him in the heart of Italy, urged him in a moſt preſſing

manner, to perform the vow which he had extorted from him.

THE emperor was very well convinced of the inutility of Cruſades, and of the danger to which an expedition of that kind would expoſe his intereſt; but he was obliged to keep well with the people, and elude if poſſible the arrows of the pope. His conduct, upon this occaſion, is, in my opinion, a model of the moſt perfect policy. At the ſame time he negotiated with the pope and ſultan Meledin; and a treaty being mutually ſigned by him and the ſultan, he ſet out for Paleſtine, attended rather with a retinue than an army, that he might not too much unfurniſh his European dominions. Scarce was he arrived in that country, when the treaty is publiſhed, by which are yielded to him Jeruſalem, Nazareth, and ſome other villages that neither he nor the ſultan thought worth their care. Then he publiſhed through all Europe, that he had regained poſſeſſion of the Holy Land, without ſhedding one drop of blood. By this he accompliſhed his vow. His enemies were ſilenced; and he himſelf in a condition to return with glory into Italy, and to be more formidable than ever, to the pope,

who

who oppoſed this profound policy, with bulls of excommunication. He was reproached with having agreed in the treaty, to leave one Moſque in Jeruſalem, the patriarch of which repreſented him as an Atheiſt: but other people looked upon him as a prince well ſkilled in the art of reigning.

FINALLY, in order to give ſome idea of Meledin, and of the manner in which the arts were cultivated among his ſubjects, I ought not to omit mentioning the preſent he made to Frederick the ſecond, of a tent furniſhed with ſeveral apartments, in one of which, the cieling repreſented heaven and the motions of the ſtars, executed by concealed ſprings; a work that demonſtrates how well they were acquainted with aſtronomy and mechanics.

ONE who reads the hiſtory of thoſe times, muſt own, that the authors of romance have not been able to exceed in imagination, what really happened in fact. Have we not ſeen a few years before this event, a count of Flanders, who having made a vow to go to the Holy Land, ſeized in the way, upon the empire of Conſtantinople? Have not we ſeen John of Brienne,

Brienne, a younger brother in Champagne, without an inch of patrimony, become king of Jeruſalem, and go near to ſubdue Ægypt? The ſame John being bereft of his dominions, marches almoſt alone, to the relief of Conſtantinople, which the princes of the family of Comnenius were always endeavouring to retrieve: he arrives during an interregnum, and is elected emperor.

HIS ſucceſſor Baldwin the ſecond, and laſt Latin emperor of Conſtantinople, continually harraſſed by the Greeks, ran about with a pope's bull in his hand, imploring ſuccour in vain, from all the princes of Europe; indeed all thoſe princes were at that time from home. The emperors of the Weſt were gone to the Holy Land, and the emperors of Conſtantinople to the Weſt. The popes were always in France, and the kings upon the point of departing for Paleſtine. Cruſades were publiſhed, ſometimes againſt the Turks, ſometimes againſt the Greeks, and ſometimes againſt Frederick the ſecond.

THEOBALD of Champagne, king of Navarre, ſo famous for his love for queen Blanche, the mother of St. Lewis, as well

as for the ſongs he compoſed, was one of thoſe who then embarked for Paleſtine: but he was fortunate enough to return the ſame year, while about ſeventy French knights who followed him, in order to ſignalize themſelves, were taken priſoners to a man, and carried to Grand Cairo, to Meledin's Nephew, called Meleſcala, who having inherited the dominions and virtues of his uncle, treated them with humanity, and at length permitted them to return to their own country, in conſideration of a very moderate ranſom.

At that time the territory of Jeruſalem belonged neither to the Syrians, the Ægyptians, the Chriſtians, nor the Muſſulmen. A revolution which is ſtill without example in the hiſtory of the known world, gave a new face to the greateſt part of Aſia. Gingiskan with his Tartars, of whom mention will be made after the Cruſades, had got over mount Caucaſus, Taurus, and Imaüs, while the people that fled before them, like wild beaſts chaced from their retreats by more terrible animals, poured down in their turn upon the countries that were abandoned.

THE inhabitants of Chorazan, who went by the name of Coraſmins, being driven before the Tartars, came headlong into Syria, in the ſame manner as the Goths puſhed by the Scythians, in the fourth century, fell upon the Roman empire. Thoſe Coraſmins being idolaters, put to death all that remained at Jeruſalem, whether Turks, Jews or Chriſtians, and equally deſtroyed churches and moſques. The Chriſtians ſtill remaining at Antioch, Tyre and Sidon, for ſome time ſuſpended their mutual quarrels, in order to reſiſt thoſe new banditti. Thoſe Chriſtians were then in league with the ſultan of Damaſcus, for, ſometimes in alliance with Ægypt, now ſubject to Meleſcala, and ſometimes reuniting with the ſultan of Syria, they endeavoured by a ſmall effort of policy, to preſerve thoſe coaſts which they were every day in danger of loſing. The Templars, the knights of St. John, and thoſe of the Teutonic order, were continually in arms for their defence: and Europe inceſſantly furniſhed them with volunteers. At length, with ſuch an army as they could aſſemble, the Cruſards gave battle to the Coraſmins, and were intirely defeated. But this was not the whole extent of their misfortunes.

A new body of Turks came to ravage the coaſts of Syria after the Coraſmins, and what knights remained, were almoſt extirpated root and branch.

But theſe tranſient torrents could not deprive the Chriſtians of the towns on the coaſt, which were too well fortified to be beſieged by ſuch diſorderly multitudes, that appeared and diſappeared like birds of prey.

The Latins being now ſhut up within their maritime towns, ſaw themſelves utterly bereft of ſuccour, and their mutual quarrels augmented their misfortune. The princes of Antioch amuſed themſelves in making war upon certain Chriſtians of Armenia. The factions of the Venetians, Genoeſe and Piſans, diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of the city of Ptolemais; and the Templars were at variance with the knights of St. John. The ſpirit of cruſading was now cooled in Europe, which ſent few or none of thoſe armed pilgrims who had flowed thither in an uninterrupted courſe, for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years; and the hopes of the Chriſtians were quite extinguiſhed, when St. Lewis undertook the laſt Cruſade.

LEWIS the ninth, ſeemed born for the reformation of Europe, had it been poſſible; to render France triumphant, and in point of power and civil government, the pride and pattern of the nations. His piety, which was truly that of an anchorite, did not diveſt him of the royal virtues: and his liberality did not interfere with the wiſe ſcheme of his œconomy; he knew how to reconcile the moſt profound policy, with the moſt exact integrity, and is perhaps the only ſovereign that ever deſerved the character. Prudent and firm in council, calm and intrepid in the field, compaſſionate as if his whole life had been a ſeries of misfortunes, it was impoſſible for man to attain to a more ſublime degree of virtue.

HE, had in conjunction with the regent his mother, who underſtood the art of reigning, reformed the abuſes which had crept into the too extended juriſdiction of the clergy; and would not ſuffer the officers of juſtice to ſeize the effects of every perſon who was excommunicated, without examining whether or not the ſentence was juſt. Making a very wiſe diſtinction betwixt the civil power to which every perſon ought to be ſubject, and the power of the

the church, which ought to extend no farther than the conſciences of the people, he would not allow the laws of the realm to ſink under this abuſe of excommunication. Having from the beginning of his adminiſtration, kept the pretenſions of the clergy and laity within their proper bounds, he repreſſed the factions of Brittany, and obſerved a prudent neutrality between Frederick the ſecond and Gregory the ninth.

His dominions, though before very extenſive, he increaſed by the purchaſe of ſeveral countries: for, as the kings of France, in thoſe days, had no other revenue than the rents of their own lands, their grandeur depended upon a well-regulated œconomy, like that of a private nobleman.

By ſuch adminiſtration, he was enabled to levy ſtrong armies againſt Henry the third, king of England, who was joined by the vaſſals of France. Henry, not ſo rich, nor ſo well obeyed by his ſubjects, had neither ſuch good troops, nor were thoſe he had ſo ſoon in readineſs to take the field. Lewis, who ſurpaſſed him in courage, as well as in foreſight, defeated him in two engagements; particularly at the battle of Taillebourg in Poitou: ſo that

that the king of England fled before him, and this glorious war was followed by an advantageous peace. The vaſſals of France returned to their duty, from which they never ſwerved again; and the king did not fail to make the Engliſh pay him five thouſand pounds ſterling to defray the expence of the campaign. When we conſider that he had not attained to the age of four and twenty, when he behaved in this manner; and that his character greatly exceeded his rank and fortune; we may judge what he would have done, had he ſtayed in his native country; and muſt lament that France was rendered unhappy, even by thoſe virtues which ought to have been the ſource of happineſs to all mankind.

IN the year 1244, Lewis being ſeized with a violent diſtemper, thought, while he lay in a trance, that he heard a voice commanding him to take the croſs againſt the infidels, and as ſoon as he recovered the uſe of ſpeech, he made a vow to raiſe another Cruſade. The queen mother, the queen conſort, the council and all who approached him, perceived the danger of this fatal vow. Even the biſhop of Paris, repreſented to him the miſchievous conſequences

quences that would attend it. But Lewis regarded it as a ſacred tye which men had no power to diſſolve. His preparations for this expedition laſted four years, at the end of which, leaving the adminiſtration to his mother, he ſet out with his queen and three brothers, who were alſo followed by their wives. Almoſt all the cavalry of France attended him in this voyage. The duke of Burgundy, the counts of Brittany, Flanders, Soiſſons and Vendome, accompanied him with their vaſſals; and he had in his army near three thouſand knights bannerets. France was now more deſerted than ſhe had been in the time of St. Bernard's Cruſade; yet none of her neighbours attacked her: for the emperor and king of England had their hands full at home. One part of the immenſe fleet that carried ſo many princes and ſoldiers, ſet ſail from Marſeilles, and the other from Acque Morte, which is not now an harbour: this vaſt armament being bound for Ægypt.

Lewis anchored in Cyprus, was joined by the king of that iſland, landed in Ægypt, and at once chaced the barbarians from Damietta. Maleſcala being old, infirm, and

almoſt

almoſt incapable of acting, demanded peace, and was refuſed.

SAINT LEWIS being reinforced by new ſuccours from France, backed with ſixty thouſand fighting men, beloved, obeyed, cautioned by the misfortunes that John of Brienne underwent in the like conjuncture; having to do with enemies already vanquiſhed, and a ſultan on the brink of the grave; who would not have thought that Ægypt and all Syria would ſoon be conquered? Nevertheleſs, one half of this flouriſhing army periſhed by diſtempers, and the other was defeated near Moſſura. Saint Lewis having ſeen his brother Robert of Artois fall, was taken priſoner with the other two, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers; and almoſt all his knights underwent the ſame fate. It was not Maleſcala, but his ſon Almoadan that now reigned in Ægypt. This new ſultan was certainly poſſeſſed of great magnanimity; for Lewis having offered to him a million of piſtoles in gold, for the ranſom of himſelf and the priſoners, Almoadan remitted one fifth part of the ſum. His father Maleſcala had inſtituted the militia of the Mamelukes, reſembling the Prætorian guards of the Roman emperors, and the Janiſſaries of

of theſe days. Theſe Mamalukes were ſcarce formed when they became formidable to their maſters; and Almoadan, who wanted to repreſs their inſolence, was aſſaſſinated by them at the very time when he was treating with Lewis about the ranſom. Then the government divided among the Emirs, ſeemed to threaten ſomething fatal to the chriſtian captives: however, the Ægyptian council continued to treat with the king: nay the Sire de Joinville relates, that in one of their aſſemblies, thoſe Emirs actually propoſed to chooſe Lewis for their ſultan.

Joinville was priſoner with the king, and without doubt, what a perſon of his character and plainneſs recounts, ought to have ſome weight: but when we reflect how often in a camp or in a family, people are miſinformed with regard to particular facts that happen in a neighbouring camp, or even in the next houſe; and how improbable it is, that Muſſulmen ſhould ever dream of electing for their king a chriſtian enemy, ſtranger to their cuſtoms and language, and one who deteſted their religion; we may conclude, that Joinville repeats no more than a popular report. By a faithful relation of thoſe hearſay reports,

ports, things that are at leaſt of doubtful authority, have gained credit.

I CAN ſcarce reconcile with probability, what the hiſtorians record of the treatment which the priſoners received from the Muſſulmen. They were brought out one by one (ſay they) from an incloſure in which they had been penned up, and aſked if they would renounce Jeſus Chriſt; then they cut off the heads of thoſe who perſiſted in the chriſtian faith.

ON the other hand, they bear witneſs, that an old Emir demanded of the captives, by an interpreter, if they believed in Jeſus Chriſt, and being anſwered in the affirmative, "Be of good chear, then," ſaid he, "for, ſince he died for you, and "is riſen again, he can eaſily bring you "relief." Theſe two circumſtances ſeem to contradict one another; and what appears ſtill more inconſiſtent, is, that the Emirs ſhould put to death thoſe captives for whom they expected ranſom. Beſides, thoſe Emirs, though they had murdered their ſultan, ſeemed to retain ſome kind of honeſty and virtue, without which no ſociety can ſubſiſt: for they limited their demand to the eight hundred thouſand piſtoles

piſtoles which the ſultan had ſtipulated for the ranſom of the priſoners; and when by virtue of the treaty, the French troops at Damietta ſurrendered that city, the conquerors were not ſeen to commit the leaſt outrage upon the women, who were very numerous: the queen and her two ſiſters-in-law were allowed to depart without moleſtation. Not that all the Muſſulmen behaved with moderation. The vulgar of all countries are rude and ferocious. Abundance of exceſſes were certainly committed, and ſeveral priſoners maltreated and ſlain. Yet I muſt own I am not at all ſurprized, that a ſimple Mahometan ſoldier ſhould be irritated and outrageous againſt ſtrangers, who had come from Europe on purpoſe to ravage the countries of Ægypt.

Saint Lewis delivered from captivity, retired to Paleſtine, where he ſtayed about four years, with the remains of his veſſels and army. Inſtead of returning to France, he went to viſit Nazareth; and did not ſee his native country 'till after the death of his mother Blanche. At length, however, he did return, fully deſigned to form a new Cruſade.

His ſtay at Paris procured to him continual advantages and additions of glory: among other inſtances, he received an honour which is only due to a virtuous prince. Henry the third of England, and his barons, choſe him umpire of their diſputes. He pronounced judgment as a ſovereign, and though his deciſion, which was favourable to Henry, could not appeaſe the troubles of England, he at leaſt let all Europe ſee what reſpect mankind, even in their own deſpite, had paid to his virtue. His brother count of Anjou, owed to the reputation of Lewis, and the excellent regulation of his kingdom, the honour of being choſen king of Sicily by the pope.

In the mean time Lewis augmented his dominions by the acquiſition of Namure, Peronne, Avranches, Mortagne, and Perche. He might have taken from the kings of England, all that they poſſeſſed in France: for the quarrels between Henry the third and his barons, gave him a fair opportunity; but preferring juſtice to the advantages of uſurpation, he left them in peaceable poſſeſſion of Guienne, Perigord, and Limoſin; but obliged them to renounce for ever, all pretenſions to Tourain,

rain, Poitou, and Normandy, which had been re-united to the crown by Philip Auguſtus; ſo that his reputation and the peace were eſtabliſhed at the ſame time.

He was the firſt that ſettled the juriſdiction of appeals; and thoſe who were oppreſſed by the arbitrary ſentences pronounced by the judges of baronies, were allowed to carry their complaints before one of four great royal Bailiwicks that were created to rehear their cauſes. Under his auſpices, men of letters began to be admitted to ſeats in parliament, in which a ſet of knights, who very ſeldom could either read or write, had been uſed to decide the fortune of their fellow ſubjects. In him were united the piety of a monk, with the enlightened fortitude of a king, which he manifeſted in checking the enterprizes of the popes, by that famous pragmatic ſanction, which preſerves thoſe antient rights, called the privileges of the Gallican church: in ſhort, his preſence during thirteen years in France, repaired all the damage his abſence had done; but he was fatally miſled by his paſſion for Cruſades, which the popes induſtriouſly encouraged: Clement the fourth granted him a tenth for three years, upon the cler-

gy, who, as they had formerly made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt paying any part of the tithe Saladine, renewed their repreſentations with great violence: but they were equally ineffectual and indecent under a king who had laviſhed away his own blood and fortune, in the ſupport of a war which they themſelves had preached up with ſuch induſtry. At length he departed a ſecond time, with nearly the ſame forces; and he was to be followed by his brother, whom he had made king of Sicily. But his arms and devotion were no longer turned towards Paleſtine or Ægypt. He ordered his fleet to ſteer for Tunis.

IT was Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, that made the heroic piety of Lewis ſubſervient to his own deſigns. He pretended that the king of Tunis was in arrears to him for tribute: but he wanted to make himſelf maſter of that country; and St. Lewis, as all the hiſtorians affirm, though I know not upon what foundation, was in hopes of converting his Tuneſian majeſty. The Chriſtian troops made a deſcent near the ruins of Carthage: but in a very ſhort time, the king himſelf was beſieged in his camp by the moors, who re-united themſelves on this

this occaſion. The ſame diſtempers proceeding from the intemperance of his tranſplanted ſubjects, and the change of climate, which had deſtroyed his troops in Ægypt, now deſolated his camp at Carthage: and one of his ſons, born during his captivity at Damietta, died before Tunis, of this kind of infection. At length it attacked the holy king, who ordered himſelf to be laid among aſhes, and expired at the age of fifty five, with the piety of a monk, and the courage of an hero. Immediately after his death, his brother the king of Sicily arrived in the camp: peace was concluded with the Moors, and the remains of the army ſent back into Europe. We cannot reckon fewer than one hundred thouſand people ſacrificed in theſe two expeditions of St. Lewis. To theſe add the hundred and fifty thouſand that followed Frederick Barberoſſa, the three hundred thouſand engaged in the Cruſade of Philip Auguſtus, and Richard; two hundred thouſand, at leaſt, in the time of John of Brienne: reckon the ſixteen hundred thouſand Cruſards, who had before that time croſſed into Aſia; without forgetting thoſe who periſhed in the expedition of Conſtantinople, and the wars which attended that revolution, excluſive

of the northern Cruſade, and that carried on againſt the Albigeois; you will find that the Eaſt was the tomb of more than two millions of Europeans.

MANY countries were abſolutely depopulated and impoveriſhed. The Sire de Joinvile expreſly ſays, he could not accompany Lewis in his ſecond Cruſade, becauſe the firſt had ruined his whole fortune.

THE ranſom of St. Lewis had coſt one hundred thouſand piſtoles, which amount to nine millions, at leaſt, of our money. If each of the two millions of men who died in the Levant, carried with him no more than a hundred francs, the account will be ſwelled with the addition of two hundred millions of livres. The Genoeſe, Piſans, and eſpecially the Venetians were enriched; but France, England, and Germany quite exhauſted.

IT hath been alledged, that the kings of France were gainers by theſe Cruſades, becauſe St. Lewis augmented his dominions, by purchaſing ſome lands from the ruined noblemen; but that increaſe was intirely owing to his œconomy while he reſided upon his own territories.

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THE ſole benefit accruing from thoſe enterprizes, was the freedom or privileges which divers boroughs repurchaſed of their lords. The municipal government gained ground a little; and thoſe communities being enabled to work and trade for their own advantage, exerciſed thoſe arts and that commerce which ſlavery had extinguiſhed.

MEAN while the few Chriſtians cantoned along the coaſt of Syria, were ſoon exterminated, or reduced to bondage. Ptolemais, their principal aſylum, which was nothing more than the retreat of banditti, rendered infamous by their crimes, could not withſtand the forces of Melec Seraph, ſultan of Ægypt, who took it in the year 1291: and Tyre and Sidon ſurrendered to the ſame conqueror. At laſt, about the end of the twelfth century, there was not to be ſeen in all Aſia, the leaſt traces of the Cruſades.

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PLAN

FOR A NEW

HISTORY

OF THE

HUMAN MIND.

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The INTRODUCTION.

DIVERS indefatigable geniuſes having, as much as it was poſſible, unravelled the chaos of antiquity; and certain patterns of eloquence having written an Univerſal Hiſtory down to the time of Charlemain, I have often regretted that they did not proceed farther in their career; and in order to ſupply their defect, I reſolved to compoſe a brief abſtract

of Hiſtory, which, as it is more modern, is of more conſequence for us to know.

MY principal intention is to deſcribe as well as I can, the manners of men, and the revolutions of the human mind; to regard the order of ſucceſſion of kings and chronology as the guides, but not as the chief aim of my labour; for it would be a very unpleaſant work, ſhould I limit myſelf to the ſole taſk of recording the year in which ſome barbarous prince ſucceeded another who was unworthy to be known.

IN reading ſuch hiſtories, one would be apt to think the world was made for the conveniency of ſome few monarchs, and thoſe who flattered their paſſions: the reſt are wholly neglected. In this the hiſtorians reſemble ſome tyrants of whom they write; they ſacrifice the whole ſpecies to one man.

HATH the earth produced nothing but kings? and muſt almoſt all the inventors of arts and ſciences be buried in oblivion, while we are peſtered with chronological details of ſo many men who either have done

done no good, or been the occaſion of a great deal of miſchief?

As we ought to promulgate the great actions of thoſe ſovereigns who have changed the face of the earth, eſpecially of thoſe who have made their ſubjects better and more happy; ſo we ought to neglect the vulgar among the kings, which would only be a burthen to the memory, as they were to their people. They ſerve as epochas in the regiſters of time, which every perſon may conſult: but he that travels for improvement, inquires after none but the principal citizens of a city, who in ſome meaſure repreſent the ſpirit of the nation. And this is the uſe I will make of them, in the vaſt detail of thoſe who were maſters of the world. I propoſed to conduct my plan according to the ſucceſſion of ages, but I perceived, that in repreſenting to my imagination the tranſactions that happened in any particular age, I ſhould be obliged to diſſipate my attention, to divide into too many parts the concatinated ideas which I wanted to communicate; and to abandon the inquiry about a nation or an art or a revolution, ſo as not to reſume it for a conſiderable length of time. I am reſolved, ſometimes, to trace back

back to its ſource, an art, an important cuſtom, a revolution or a law: ſome facts I will anticipate, and reſerve others for a time poſterior to their dates; but this ſhall be done as ſeldom as poſſible, and that only to avoid, as much as my weakneſs will permit, the confuſion and diſſipation of ideas. I will endeavour to repreſent to my imagination, a faithful picture of every thing good or bad, that deſerves to be recorded; forced to paint a groupe of treaſons and barbarities, in order to exhibit ſome virtues ſcattered here and there in the annals of time, like ſo many groves in the midſt of immeaſurable deſarts.

BEFORE I conſider the ſtate of Europe about the time of Charlemain, together with the wreck of the Roman empire, I firſt of all inquire if there was nothing worthy of my attention in the other parts of our hemiſphere: which other parts are about ten times more extenſive than the Roman dominions, and at once give me to underſtand, that the titles of maſters and reſtorers of the univerſe, conferred upon the emperors of Rome, are immortal teſtimonies of the vanity and ignorance, as well as of the grandeur of that empire.

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STRUCK with the ſplendour, increaſe and fall of that empire, we have hitherto, in moſt of our univerſal hiſtories, treated other men as if they had never exiſted. Greece and Rome have engroſſed our whole attention; and when the celebrated Boſſuet mentions the Mahometans, he ſpeaks of them as a deluge of barbarians. Nevertheleſs, we are beholden to ſome of theſe nations for the knowledge of ſeveral very uſeful arts: their countries have furniſhed us with many conveniencies and precious things, which nature hath refuſed at home. Cloathed as we are with their ſtuffs, maintained by their productions, inſtructed by their inventions, and even amuſed by thoſe games which were the fruit of their induſtry, we are equally unjuſt and unwiſe in being ignorant of their hiſtory and manners.

Of CHINA.

IN extending my view to the extremities of the Eaſt, I in the firſt place, conſider the empire of China, which was greater, even in thoſe days, than that of Charlemain, if we comprehend the Corea and Tonquin provinces, even then tributary to

the Chineſe. About nine and twenty degrees of longitude, and four and twenty in latitude, form its whole extent. The body of this ſtate hath ſubſiſted with ſplendour upwards of four thouſand years, without any ſenſible change in their laws, manners, language or apparel.

THEIR hiſtory, which is inconteſtable, becauſe the only one that is founded upon obſervations in the heavens, is carried by the moſt exact chronology, as far back as an eclipſe calculated 1250 years before our vulgar Æra, and verified by the mathematicians among the miſſionaries, who having been ſent, in theſe latter ages, to this unknown nation, admired and inſtructed it at the ſame time. Father Gaubel examined a ſeries of thirty ſix eclipſes of the ſun, recorded in the books of Confucius, and in that number, found no more than two dubious, and two falſe.

TRUE it is Alexander ſent from Babylon into Greece, the obſervations of the Chaldeans, which reach one hundred years farther back than thoſe of the Chineſe; but theſe Babylonian ephemerides were not interſperſed with an hiſtory of facts; whereas the Chineſe have joined the hiſtory

ry of the heavens with that of the earth, and they mutually confirm each other.

THEIR chronology extends without interruption, two hundred and thirty years farther back than that famous eclipſe I have mentioned, and by the moſt authentic teſtimonies, even as high up as the emperor Hiax, a good mathematician for that age, who worked in perſon at the reformation of aſtronomy, and during a reign of fourſcore years, employed himſelf in augmenting the knowledge and happineſs of his people. His name is ſtill held in as much veneration in China, as thoſe of Titus, Trajan, and Antoninus in Europe.

BEFORE this great man, we read of ſix kings his predeceſſors, but the duration of their reigns is uncertain; and I believe in this ſilence of chronology, the beſt expedient is to have recourſe to the rule of Newton, who having made a calculation of the years that the different kings of different countries have reigned, reduces one reign to two and twenty years.

ACCORDING to this computation, which is the more reaſonable, as it is the more mo-

moderate, thoſe ſix kings muſt have reigned about 130 years; and this account is much more comformable to the order of nature, than the two hundred and fifty years imputed to the ſeven kings of Rome, and a great many other calculations of the ſame kind, belied by the experience of every age.

THE firſt of thoſe kings, whoſe name was Fohi, muſt have therefore reigned five and twenty centuries, at leaſt, before our common Æra, at which time the Babylonians were already in poſſeſſion of a courſe of aſtronomical obſervations: and even then, China was governed by one ſovereign. Her fifteen kingdoms united under one man, plainly prove, that many ages before this period, the country muſt have been exceedingly well peopled, regulated and divided into many different independencies: for every great empire is compoſed of divers ſmall ſtates, and its formation is the work of courage, policy and time.

CHINA, in the time of Charlemain, though well known long before, was, and is even at this day, more populous than extenſive.

THE

THE laſt calculation we are acquainted with, comprehending only the fifteen provinces, which compoſe what is properly called China, amounts to ſixty millions of men able to carry arms, without including the veteran ſoldiers, the old men above threeſcore, the young men under twenty, the mandarins, the multitude of literati, the bonzes, or the women, who are to the men as fifteen to ſixteen, according to the obſervations of thoſe who have made the moſt exact calculations of what concerns the human race. At this rate we ſhall find it hard to believe that there are fewer than two hundred millions of inhabitants in China. All Europe contains little more than one half of the number, even taking in the exaggerated accounts of twenty millions in France, and five and twenty in Germany, with the reſt in the ſame proportion.

THE immenſity of the Chineſe cities, is not therefore to be wondered at: if Pekin the new capital of the empire be nearly ſix of our long leagues in circumference, it contains about four millions of inhabitants: formerly there was ſtill a greater number in Nanquin the antient metropolis;

lis; nay, another million are contained in a borough called Quintzing, where the manufacture of porcelain is carried on.

THIS great advantage which China has over our climates, ſeems to proceed from three cauſes, the fecundity that nature hath beſtowed upon their women, the few wars that have deſolated their country, and laſtly, their exemption from the plague, which at ſome times hath deſtroyed one fourth part of the human race, in Europe and ancient Aſia, but was never felt in China. For it is a diſtemper originally of Africa, which hath not as yet gained admiſſion into thoſe countries from which ſtrangers are excluded; and the annals of China make mention but of one contagion that made ſome ravages among them in the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

ACCORDING to the accounts of the moſt intelligent travellers, the forces of this empire conſiſt of about 800000 men always well paid. 570000 horſes are maintained in the ſtables and paſturage of the emperor, for mounting the ſoldiers for the occaſional journies of the court, and for the uſe of public couriers. Several miſſionaries, whom the emperor Canghi, in theſe latter times,

times, permitted to approach his perſon, relate that they attended him in magnificent hunting expeditions towards the frontiers of great Tartary, where he was guarded by an hundred thouſand horſe, and ſixty thouſand foot that always marched in order of battle. The Chineſe towns never had any other fortifications than ſuch as good ſenſe ſuggeſted to all nations, before the uſe of artillery, namely a ditch, a rampart and ſtrong wall flanked with towers: even though they have made uſe of cannon, they have not yet followed the model of our fortified places.

But inſtead of fortifying towns, according to the cuſtom of other countries, the Chineſe have fortified their whole empire. That vaſt wall that ſeparates and defends China from the Tartars, built one hundred and thirty ſeven years before the chriſtian Æra, ſtill ſubſiſts in a ſweep of five hundred leagues, riſing over mountains, deſcending precipices, being every where two and twenty feet broad, and upwards of thirty feet high. A monument far ſuperior to the pyramids of Ægypt, both in uſefulneſs and immenſity.

YET this rampart could not hinder the Tartars from profiting by the diviſions, and ſubduing the empire of China: but by this revolution the conſtitution of the ſtate was neither weakened nor changed: the country of the conquerors, is become a part of the conquered country; and the Mautchouſe Tartars, though at this day maſters of China, have ſubmitted with their arms in their hands, to the laws of that country, the throne of which they had uſurped.

THE emperor's ordinary revenue, according to the moſt probable computation, amounts to two hundred millions of ounces of ſilver. But, it muſt be obſerved, that an ounce of ſilver is not intrinſically worth one hundred of our ſols, as is affirmed in the hiſtory of China: for money hath no intrinſick value; but if we ſuppoſe our ſilver mark at fifty current livres, the whole ſum amounts to one thouſand two hundred and fifty millions of our money, as it is current in the year 1750. I mention this date, becauſe that arbitrary value hath already changed but too often, in this country, and perhaps will change once more. This is a circumſtance not ſufficiently attended to by writers, who being generally

generally better acquainted with books, than with buſineſs, are often erroneous in their valuation of foreign money. They had gold and ſilver coin ſtruck with the dye a long time before the dariques were ſtruck in Perſia; and the emperor Canghi had collected a ſucceſſion of three thouſand ancient coins, among which were a good many Indian pieces; another proof of the antiquity of arts in Aſia. But for many years paſt, gold hath not been current in China, having become a commodity there as well as in Holland: even ſilver is no longer a part of their coin, of which the weight and title conſtitutes the price: for there is no other coin than copper, which is the only thing in this country that bears an arbitrary value.

In difficult times the government hath paid in paper; an expedient afterwards uſed in more than one country of Europe; but China never ſet up public banks, which by multiplying the credit increaſe the riches of a nation.

This country, favoured by nature, produces almoſt all the fruits of Europe, and many more which we want: corn, rice, pulſe, vines and trees of all ſpecies cover the

the earth; but the inhabitants have never made wine, being very well ſatisfied with a ſtrong ſpirit which they extract from rice.

THAT precious inſect which produceth ſilk, is a native of China, from whence it was pretty lately tranſported to Perſia, together with the art of making into ſtuffs, the down in which it wraps itſelf up; for, in the time of the Antonini, ſilk was ſo rare as to be ſold in Europe for its weight in gold.

FINE paper of a ſhining white colour, was fabricated among the Chineſe from time immemorial: it was made of the pulp of bamboo boiled, before the uſe of linnen rags was known; but we can give no authentic account of the origin of their porcelain, and that fine varniſh which we begin to imitate in Europe; and though they had the art of making glaſs two thouſand years ago, they have not yet brought it to ſuch a grain and tranſparency as that which is found in the manufacture of our own country.

PRINTING they invented about the time of Julius Cæſar: indeed this is no other than

than wooden plates ingraved, ſuch as were firſt of all uſed by Guttemburg, at Mayence, in the fifteenth century; but the art of making moveable types of a much finer mould than theſe, hath not yet been adopted by the Chineſe, ſo much are they attached to their old cuſtoms.

They have a little muſick, but ſo rude and irregular, that they are ſtill ignorant of ſemitones.

The uſe of clocks is of great antiquity among them; they have cultivated chymiſtry, without becoming good naturaliſts; they had invented gun-powder, but made no uſe of it, except at feſtivals, and in the art of fire-works, in which they ſurpaſſed all other nations. The Portugueze in theſe latter times, ſhewed them the uſe of artillery, and they were taught by the jeſuits to found cannon. Though the Chineſe did not apply themſelves to the invention of theſe deſtructive inſtruments, we ought not on that account to praiſe their moderation, becauſe they have engaged in war nevertheleſs.

In the knowledge of geometry, they never proceeded farther than the ſimple

elements, but they made greater progreſs in aſtronomy, becauſe it was the fruit of meer patience, and the ſcience of ocular obſervation. They obſerved the heavens with great aſſiduity, and tranſmitted all its phænomena to poſterity; they, like us, divided the courſe of the ſun into 365 parts and one half; they had a confined idea of the preceſſion of the Æquinoxes and Solſtices; but what perhaps moſt of all deſerves our attention, they from time immemorial divided the month into weeks of ſeven days each. They ſtill ſhew the inſtruments that were uſed by one of their moſt famous aſtronomers, a thouſand years before our Æra, in a town which is but of the third order.

IN Nanquin, which is the antient capital, is preſerved a braſs globe ſo large that three men cannot ſurround it in their embrace: it is placed upon an hollow cube of copper into which a man enters to turn the ſphere, on which the meridians and parallels are marked.

PEKIN has had an obſervatory ſtored with aſtrolabes and armillary ſpheres, inſtruments, which though undoubtedly inferiour to ours in point of exactneſs, yet clearly

clearly teſtify the ſuperiority of the Chineſe over all the other nations of Aſia.

The compaſs which they knew, was not indeed uſed for the purpoſes of navigation, which was intirely carried on along ſhore. Poſſeſſors of a land that furniſhed them with every thing, they had no occaſion to wander, like us, over the face of the earth. They looked upon the compaſs and gun-powder as ſimple curioſities, and ſurely they were not to be pitied upon that account.

It is ſtrange that aſtronomy and the other ſciences among them, ſhould be ſo antient, and yet ſo imperfect; but what is not quite ſo ſurpriſing, is the credulity with which thoſe people have always joined the errors of judicial aſtrology, to the true knowledge of the heavens. That ſuperſtition was univerſal among mankind; and it is not a great while ſince we ourſelves were cured of it, ſo peculiar is error to the human ſpecies.

If we enquire why ſo many arts and ſciences, cultivated without interruption, for ſuch a length of time in China, ſhould nevertheleſs have made ſo little progreſs;

there may be two reaſons given; one of which is the nature of their language, which is the firſt principle of all knowledge.

THE art of communicating ideas by writing, which ought to be quite eaſy and ſimple, is with them the moſt difficult of all expedients: every word has different characters: he is a learned Chineſe who knows the greateſt number of theſe characters; and many people among them have attained to old age before they could learn to write.

THE other cauſe of this long permanence in mediocrity, is the ſuperſtitious reſpect which the Chineſe pay to every thing that hath been tranſmitted from the antients: in this they reſemble thoſe people among us, who have ſuch profound veneration for the philoſophy of Ariſtotle.

BUT above all things, morality and law are the two ſubjects which they have chiefly cultivated, and brought to the greateſt perfection. The reverence that children entertain for their parents, is the foundation of the Chineſe government. Paternal authority is never weakened: nor can a

ſon

ſon plead againſt his father, without the conſent of all the relations, together with that of his friends and the magiſtrates of the country. The learned mandarins are regarded as the parents of their towns and provinces; and the ſovereign as father of the empire. By this idea rooted in their minds, this immenſe community is formed into one family.

VICE is of the growth of this, as well as of other countries, but more reſtrained by the execution of the laws.

SINCE the year 1637 before Chriſt, all the poor old men in this vaſt empire, are maintained at the expence of the public: but how ſhall we reconcile this admirable police, eſtabliſhed in behalf of old age, to that negligence of the Chineſe, with regard to their children? They are ſaid to have no ſuch thing as an orphan hoſpital; and nothing is more common than to ſee their infants expoſed. If this is really the caſe, their government, though much more perfect in ſome reſpects, is in others greatly inferiour to our own; and contradiction prevails as much in China as in other parts of the world.

THE continual ceremonies which are a reſtraint upon ſociety, and which nothing but the moſt intimate friendſhip can ſet aſide, have eſtabliſhed through the whole nation, a reſerve and decorum which at once add ſweetneſs and gravity to their manners and behaviour. Theſe qualities extend even to the loweſt of the people; for, according to the relation of the miſſionaries, very often in the public markets, in the midſt of that hurry and confuſion of carriages, which in our countries excite ſuch barbarous clamour, ſuch frequent and diſagreeable quarrels, the peaſants will throw themſelves on their knees, according to the cuſtom of the country, to aſk pardon of each other for the hindrance and inconvenience they have occaſioned, and aſſiſt one another to ſet every thing to rights, with that tranquillity which facilitates the good intention.

IN other countries the laws do no more than puniſh the guilty; but here they likewiſe reward virtue. If a generous uncommon action is reported in any province, the mandarin is obliged to impart it to the emperor, who ſends ſome mark of honour to the perſon who hath ſo well deſerved it.

This

This morality and obedience to the laws, joined to the adoration of a ſupreme Being, conſtitute, in China, the religion of the emperors and literati.

THE emperor from time immemorial, is the ſovereign pontif, who ſacrifices to the God of heaven and earth. He is ſuppoſed to be the chief philoſopher and preacher of the empire; and his edicts are ſo many lectures to inſpire the love of virtue: but men are too much accuſtomed to thoſe leſſons, which indeed are no more than matter of form.

CONFUTSEE, or as we call him Confucius, who lived about two thouſand three hundred years ago, a little before the time of Pythagoras, eſtabliſhed that religion which conſiſts in being juſt and beneficent: this doctrine he taught and practiſed in the height of grandeur and abyſs of adverſity, ſometimes prime miniſter to a king who was tributary to the emperor, and ſometimes an indigent and fugitive exile. During his life he had five thouſand diſciples; and after his death the number was augmented by the emperors, the colao or mandarins, the literati belonging to the law, and all but the dregs

of the people. His family ſtill ſubſiſts, and in a country where there is no other nobility than that which proceeds from actual ſervice; it is diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt, in memory of its founder. As for himſelf he had not divine honours, which are due to no man, but ſuch as a man deſerves, who hath given the moſt ſublime ideas of the divinity which the human mind could conceive, without the help of revelation.

SOME time before his appearance, Laokium had introduced a ſect that believed in evil ſpirits, inchantments and impoſtures; another ſect like that of Epicurus, was received and oppoſed in China, about five hundred years before Chriſt: but in the firſt century of our Æra, the country was deluged with the ſuperſtition of the Bonzes, who brought thither from India, the idol Fo or de Foe adored under different names, by the Tartars and Japoneſe. His worſhip was extremely ridiculous, though well enough calculated for the groſs and ignorant vulgar. This religion brought forth in India, about a thouſand years before Chriſt, hath infected all eaſtern Aſia; and this is the God who is preached by the Bonzes in China, the Talapoins

lapoins in Siam, and the Lamas in Tartary. In his name they promiſe immortal life; and thouſands of Bonzes devote their lives to exerciſes of pennance which terrify nature. Some paſs their days naked and in chains; others wear an iron collar that bends their bodies double, and keeps their faces always towards the earth. They make themſelves miſerable in order to be reſpected, and while they endeavour to miſlead others, they are ſeduced themſelves. Their fanaticiſm is infinitely ſubdivided: they pretend to caſt out devils, and to work other miracles; and they make a traffick of the remiſſion of ſins: in ſhort, this ſect ſometimes ſeduces narrow-minded Mandarins, who ſhave themſelves like Bonzes, in order to acquire the perfections ſaid to be inherent in that tribe.

THOSE are the Bonzes who in Tartary have at their head the Dailama, or Dalaylama, a living idol which they adore; and this is perhaps the moſt conſummate triumph of human ſuperſtition.

THIS Dailama, the ſucceſſor and lieutenant of the God Fo, is ſuppoſed to be immortal; and the prieſts always breed up in ſecret, a young Lama deſigned as the

ſucceſſor of Dailama, who takes his place, upon the death of this ſuppoſed immortal. The Tartarian princes addreſs themſelves to him on their knees; he decides like a ſovereign all the points upon which the Lamas differ; after ſome time is created monarch of Thibet on the Weſt of China; the emperor receives his ambaſſadors, and ſends an embaſſy in return, charged with conſiderable preſents.

THESE ſects are tolerated in China, for the uſe of the vulgar, like coarſe aliments for their food; while the magiſtrates and literati are nouriſhed with a purer ſubſtance. Nevertheleſs, Confucius lamented ſuch a multitude of errors. Why, ſays he in one of his books, ſhould there be more guilt among the ignorant vulgar, than among the learned part of the nation? Becauſe the people are led aſtray by the Bonzes. Accordingly one of their wiſeſt emperors, called Taitſon, progenitor of the laſt Chineſe imperial family, made a law about the year 1379, that no man or woman ſhould profeſs the order of Bonzes before the age of forty; a law which in our days Peter the great eſtabliſhed in the vaſt dominions that border upon China; but that regulation did not long ſubſiſt, either in China or in Muſcovy.

A GREAT many of their learned men have, without doubt, adopted the error of materialiſm; but this makes no change in their morality: for virtue, ſay they, is ſo neceſſary for the good of ſociety, and ſo amiable in herſelf, that there is no occaſion for other doctrines to reinforce her attractions.

ABOUT the eighth century, in the time of Charlemain, the chriſtian religion is ſaid to have been known in China; and it is confidently reported, that our miſſionaries found in the province of Kinſki, an inſcription in Syriac and Chineſe characters. This monument, deſcribed at length by Kircher, teſtifies that the biſhop Olopuen departed from Judea in the year 636 to preach and propagate the goſpel; and that as ſoon as he arrived in the ſuburbs of the imperial city, the emperor ſent a colao to attend him, and ordered a chriſtian church to be built for his uſe, &c.

THE date of this inſcription, is the year 782, according to the hiſtory of China publiſhed by the jeſuits.

BUT this monument is one of thoſe pious frauds which we are always too ready

to overlook: the name of Olopuen, which is Spaniſh, renders the whole ſuſpicious; eſpecially as the ſcene is laid in a country where ſtrangers were forbid on pain of death to paſs the frontiers; and does not the date of the inſcription carry another mark of impoſture?

THE prieſts and biſhops of Jeruſalem, did not in the ſeventh century count the years as they are reckoned on that monument: the vulgar Æra of Dennis the little was not yet received among the Oriental nations, and did not begin to be uſed in the Weſt, 'till the time of Charlemain: beſides, how could this Olopuen at his firſt arrival, make himſelf underſtood in a language which can ſcarce be learned in ten years? And how can we ſuppoſe an emperor would all of a ſudden build a chriſtian church in favour of a ſtranger, who had by the aſſiſtance of an interpreter hardly made ſhift to ſtammer out ſuch a new religion? In all probability, therefore, the chriſtian religion was abſolutely unknown in China, in the time of Charlemain.

I SHALL take a ſuperficial glance of Siam, Japan, and all the country ſituated towards

towards the East and South of China, when I come to consider the time in which the industry of Europeans opened an easy road to the extremities of this our hemisphere.

Of India, Persia, Arabia and Mahometanism.

IN returning towards Europe I find myself at first in India or Indostan, a country not quite so vast as China, and not so well known by authentic histories, as by the precious commodities with which it hath in all times rewarded the merchant's industry.

A CHAIN of almost uninterrupted mountains seems to have fixed its limits between China, Tartary and Persia; the rest being surrounded with seas. Nevertheless, India on this side the Ganges, was a long time subject to the Persians; and for this reason, Alexander the avenger of Greece, and conqueror of Darius, pushed his conquests as far as that part of India which was tributary to his foe. After Alexander, the Indians lived in that freedom and effeminacy which the heat of their climate, and the

the richneſs of their ſoil produced. Some Grecians had travelled thither, before Alexander in ſearch of ſcience; and there the celebrated Pilpay, about two thouſand and three hundred years ago, wrote thoſe moral fables which have been tranſlated into almoſt all the languages of the known world: there the game of cheſs was invented; the cyphers we uſe, which were imported among us by the Arabians, about the time of Charlemain, came originally from India; and perhaps thoſe ancient Indian medals in ſuch eſteem among the Chineſe, prove that the arts were cultivated in India, before they were known in China.

FROM time immemorial they divided the annual courſe of the ſun into twelve parts. The year of the Brachmans and the moſt antient Gymnoſophiſts, always began when the ſun entered into the conſtellation which they denominate mocaham, and we call the ram; and their week was divided into ſeven days; a diviſion to which the Greeks were ſtrangers: their days carried the names of the ſeven planets, ſunday being with them called Mitradinam; but it remains to be known, whether the word Mitra, which among the

the Perſians alſo, ſignifies the ſun, is originally a term in the language of the Magi, or in that of the Indian ſages. It would be difficult to determine which of theſe two nations taught the other; but, if the diſpute was between India and Ægypt, I ſhould give the preference to India, with regard to the antiquity of arts and ſciences. My conjecture is founded upon this circumſtance, that the country of India is much more eaſily inhabited, than that which borders upon the Nile, the overflowings of which muſt have certainly repulſed the firſt colonies, before they found means to keep that river within due bounds, by trenching canals: beſides, the Indian climate is of a more varied fertility, and of conſequence muſt have had a greater effect in exciting the curioſity and induſtry of man: yet it does not appear that the ſcience of government and morality was brought to ſuch perfection in this country, as it was among the Chineſe.

SUPERSTITION hath for a long time ſtifled thoſe ſciences which they learned in the moſt diſtant ages. The Bonzes and Bramins, who are the ſucceſſors of the Brachmans, maintained the doctrine of metempſychoſis or the tranſmigration of ſouls;

ſouls; and every where extended the empire of error and ſtupidity: ſome of them are impoſtors, ſome bigots; many are both one and t'other; and a few devote themſelves to death, like Calamus in the time of Alexander. But all of them prevail, if they can, upon widows to burn themſelves on the bodies of their deceaſed huſbands.

THE vaſt coaſt of Coromandel hath been for ages a prey to thoſe dreadful cuſtoms, which the Mahometan religion, all powerful as it is, has not yet been able to deſtroy; nevertheleſs, thoſe Bramins who maintain the moſt ſtupid idolatry in the minds of the people, are poſſeſſed of one of the moſt antient books in the world, written by their firſt ſages, in which is owned one only ſupreme being. They preſerve with the utmoſt care this evidence by which they themſelves are condemned; preaching thoſe errors from which they derive advantage to themſelves, and concealing a truth which would only be reſpected, without having any particular tendency to their intereſt.

IN the ſame Indoſtan, upon the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandal, it is ſurpriſing to find Chriſtians eſtabliſhed time out

out of mind. They call themſelves the Chriſtians of St. Thomas; and the common opinion is, that they are the poſterity of thoſe who were inſtructed by that apoſtle: others ſay, that a chriſtian merchant from Syria, called Mar Thomas (Mar hath much the ſame ſignification with monſieur, or maſter) having eſtabliſhed his religion and commerce in that country, left a numerous family with factors and workmen, who multiplying apace, have for near twelve centuries, preſerved the religion of Mar Thomas; a nominal error, of which there are more than one example.

THOSE Chriſtians neither owned the pope's ſupremacy, tranſubſtantiation, ſeven ſacraments, purgatory nor the worſhip of images: we ſhall ſee in due time, how the new miſſionaries taught them thoſe truths which they did not know.

IN going back towards Perſia, we find, a little before the time I have choſen for an epocha, the greateſt and moſt ſudden revolution that was ever known upon earth.

A NEW dominion, a religion and manners to that time unknown, intirely changed

changed the face of thoſe countries, and this change extended itſelf a great way into Aſia, Africa and Europe.

BUT in order to give a proper idea of Mahometaniſm, which hath given a new form to ſo many empires, I will firſt recapitulate thoſe parts of the world which were ſubjected to its ſway.

II.

Of PERSIA.

BEFORE the time of Alexander, Perſia had ſtretched her dominion from Ægypt to Bactria, on the other ſide of that country which is now called Samarcande; and from Thrace to the river Indus. Divided and united again under the Seleucides, it had gained new additions under Arſaces the Parthian, 250 years before Chriſt. The Arſacides, though they neither were in poſſeſſion of Syria, nor of the countries bordering upon the Euxine ſea, diſputed with the Romans the empire of the Eaſt, and always raiſed unſurmountable barriers in their way.

FROM the time of Alexander Severus, to the year of Chriſt 226, Artaxures conquered this kingdom from the Arſacides, and re-eſtabliſhed the Perſian empire, the extent of which, even in our days, continues nearly the ſame.

IN the midſt of theſe revolutions, the ancient religion of the Magi was ſtill ſupported in Perſia, where the Grecian gods and other divinities had not yet gained footing.

NOUSHIRVAN or Coſroes the great, about the end of the ſixth century, extended his empire into one part of Arabia Petræa, and from that which is called Felix, drove the Abyſſinian Chriſtians who had invaded it; he proſcribed Chriſtianity as much as he could, being forced to that ſeverity by the guilt of his wife's ſon, who becoming a chriſtian, ſhewed himſelf unworthy of the name, and revolted againſt his ſovereign.

IN the laſt year of that famous king's reign, Mahomet was born at Mecca in Arabia Petræa, in the year 570: his country at that time defending itſelf againſt the Perſians

Perſians and the princes of Conſtantinople, who ſtill retained the name of Roman emperor. The children of Nouſhirvan the great, unworthy of ſuch a father, laid Perſia in deſolation by their parricides and civil wars. The ſucceſſors of the lawgiver Juſtinian debaſed the name of empire; Maurice was dethroned by the arms of Phocas, and the intrigues of the Syrian patriarch, and other biſhops whom Phocas afterwards puniſhed for having ſerved him too well. The blood of Maurice and his five ſons was ſhed by the hands of common executioners.

THE Roman empire in the Weſt, was annihilated by a deluge of barbarians, Goths, Herules, Huns and Vandals, who having for the moſt part forced the barriers of Tartary, overwhelmed Europe, which to them ſeemed a new world, at the time when Mahomet in the deſarts of Arabia laid the foundation of the religion and power of the Muſſulmen.

III.

Of MAHOMET.

IT is well known that Mahomet was the younger ſon of a poor family; that he was a long time in the ſervice of a woman of Mecca, called Cadiſhca, who carried on the buſineſs of traffick; that he married his miſtreſs, and lived in obſcurity till the age of forty. It was not till after that age he diſplayed thoſe talents that rendered him ſuperior to his fellows. He was endowed with a keen and convincing ſort of eloquence, deſtitute of all art and method, ſuch as muſt have been natural to the Arabians and all the people of thoſe climates; an air of authority and inſinuation, animated with piercing eyes, and reinforced by an happy phyſiognomy; the intrepidity of Alexander, his liberality with ſobriety which Alexander wanted to be completely great; an amorous diſpoſition produced from the heat of his temperament, in conſequence of which he kept ſo many wives and concubines, without weakening his courage, health or application. Thus he is deſcribed by the Arabians who were his cotemporaries; and the picture

picture is juſtified by his actions, the certain rule by which mankind are known.

AFTER having made himſelf perfectly well acquainted with the character of his fellow ſubjects, their ignorance, credulity and tendency to enthuſiaſm, he foreſaw he ſhould be able to erect himſelf into a prophet; he pretended to have revelations, diſcloſed them, and at firſt gained credit in his own houſe; this being in all probability his moſt difficult taſk: in three years he had forty and two profeſſed diſciples. Omar his perſecutor became his miniſter; and at the end of five years, they amounted to one hundred and fourteen.

HE taught the Arabians, who worſhipped the ſtars, that they ſhould adore none but God that created them. He ſuppoſed that the books of the Jews and Chriſtians were falſified and corrupted, therefore ought to be held in abhorrence: he laid injunctions on his followers, on pain of eternal damnation, to pray five times a day, to give alms above all things, to acknowledge one God, to believe in Mahomet as the laſt of his prophets, and to maintain that faith at the hazard of their lives.

HE

He forbad the uſe of wine, becauſe the abuſe of it is dangerous; he preſerved circumciſion, which was practiſed by the Arabians, as well as by the antient Ægyptians.

He allowed plurality of wives, a cuſtom from time immemorial through all the Eaſt; and by way of recompence, promiſed eternal life, in which the ſoul ſhould wanton in all ſorts of ſpiritual delights, and even the body re-inſpired with its ſenſes, taſte all the pleaſures which it is capable of enjoying.

His religion was called Iſmamiſm, which ſignifies reſignation to the will of God: and the book that contains it, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Coran, or the lecture, in token of its excellence.

All the interpreters of this book, agree that its morality is contained in theſe words; "Court him who diſcards you; "give unto him who hath robbed you; "forgive thoſe who have done you "wrong; do good to all men; and ne-"ver diſpute with the ignorant."

Among

AMONG the extravagant declamations with which this book is filled, according to the eaſtern taſte, there are nevertheleſs ſome paſſages which ſeem truly ſublime; Mahomet, for example, mentioning the ceſſation of the deluge, expreſſes himſelf thus: "God ſaid, earth ſwallow up "thy waters. Heaven, drink up the "waves which thou haſt poured down: "and the heaven and the earth obeyed."

HIS definition of God is infinitely ſublime; being aſked who was that Ala whom he preached: "He," replied Mahomet, "who holds his exiſtence of himſelf, and "by whom all others exiſt: who neither "engenders nor is engendered; and to "whom there is nothing that bears re-"ſemblance through the whole extent of "being."

TRUE it is, numbers of contradictions, abſurdities and anachroniſms are ſcattered up and down this book, where we find in particular a profound ignorance of the moſt ſimple and obvious parts of natural knowledge.

SOME

Some people have believed, upon the ſtrength of an æquivocal paſſage in the alkoran, that Mahomet could neither read nor write; a circumſtance that would ſtill augment the prodigy of his ſucceſs: but it is not probable that a man who had been ſo long a merchant, ſhould be ignorant of what was ſo neceſſary to his buſineſs; and it is ſtill leſs likely, that one ſo well acquainted with the hiſtory and fables of his country, ſhould be deficient in that which was taught to all the children of Arabia. Beſides, the Arabian authors report, that Mahomet in his laſt moments called for pen and ink.

Being perſecuted at Mecca, his flight from that place, which is called Hegira, became the epocha of his glory, and of the foundation of his empire: for from a fugitive he raiſed himſelf into a conqueror. While he remained a refugee at Medina, he converted the people, and made uſe of their aſſiſtance; and with an hundred and thirteen men he defeated the inhabitants of Mecca, who came and attacked him, to the number of one thouſand. This victory, which was conſidered as a miracle, by his followers, convinced them that God

fought in their behalf, as they did for his glory; and from that firſt advantage, they preſaged to themſelves the conqueſt of the whole world. Mahomet took Mecca, ſaw his enemies at his feet, and in nine years, partly by preaching, and partly by dint of arms, conquered all Arabia, a country as large as Perſia, which neither the Perſians nor the Romans had been able to ſubdue.

UPON his firſt ſucceſs, he wrote to Coſroes the ſecond, king of Perſia; to the emperor Heraclius; the prince of the Coptes, governor of Ægypt; to the king of Abyſſinia, and another monarch called Mandar, who reigned in a province bordering upon the Perſian gulph; he had even the preſumption to propoſe they ſhould embrace his religion; and what is very ſtrange, two of theſe princes actually became Mahometans: theſe were the king of the Abyſſinians and that ſame Mandar: as for Coſroes, he tore the letter with indignation and diſdain; Heraclius anſwered his by preſents; and the prince of Coptes ſent him a damſel called the beautiful Maria, who paſſed for a maſter piece of nature.

MA-

MAHOMET, at the end of nine years, believing himſelf ſtrong enough to extend his ravages and religion into the Greek and Perſian empires, began by attacking Syria, at that time ſubjected to Heraclius, and took ſeveral towns from that emperor, whoſe head being turned with novelties, which are always fatal to religion, and who having eſpouſed the party of the Monotelites, in a very little time received two very ſingular propoſals; one from Coſroes the ſecond, who had been his conqueror, and the other from Mahomet. Coſroes deſired he would embrace the religion of the Magi, and Mahomet that he ſhould turn Muſſulman. At length, Mahomet after having made himſelf maſter of Arabia, revered, nay almoſt adored by his ſubjects, and equally formidable to his enemies, was ſeized at Medina with a mortal diſtemper, at the age of ſixty three years and an half. Reſolving that his laſt moments ſhould evince him the hero as well as the upright man, "Let him," cried he, "to whom I have done violence or in-"juſtice, appear; I am now ready to "make reparation." Upon which a man ſtanding up and demanding the reſtitution of ſome money, Mahomet ordered it to

be reſtored, and in a little time expired, regarded as a great man, even by thoſe who knew him to be an impoſtor, and revered as a prophet by all the reſt.

Of the CALIPHS.

MAHOMET's laſt will was not executed. He had nominated Ali his ſon-in-law, and Fatima his daughter, for his ſucceſſors in the empire; but ambition, which even gets the better of ſuperſtition itſelf, induced the chiefs of the army to declare old Abubeker, his father-in-law, caliph or lieutenant of the prophet, in hope that they would ſoon be able to divide the ſucceſſion among themſelves. While Ali remained in Arabia, waiting for the time to ſignalize himſelf, Abubeker gathered together the ſcattered ſheets of the Alkoran, which were read in preſence of all the chiefs, who eſtabliſhed the invariable authenticity of that book which hath ſince become the ſtandard of language, as well as of faith among the Arabians.

ABUBEKER ſoon led his Muſſulmen into Paleſtine, where he defeated the brother of Heraclius; and died ſoon after, in the year 634, with the reputation of the moſt generous

generous man on earth: for he had never taken above forty ſous of our money per day of all the booty that was ſhared, ſhewing how well a contempt for ſmall intereſts, may agree with that ambition which great intereſts inſpire.

Omar, who ſucceeded him, was one of the moſt rapid conquerors that ever deſolated the earth. He firſt of all took Damaſcus, celebrated for the fruitfulneſs of its territory, the beſt ſteel manufacture in the world, and the ſilk ſtuffs that ſtill bear its name. He drove the Greeks, who went under the appellation of Romans, from Syria and Phœnicia; and after a long ſiege, in the year 636, received by capitulation, the city of Jeruſalem.

At the ſame time Omar's lieutenants advanced into Perſia, the laſt king of which, whom we call Hormiſda the fourth, engaged the Arabians, at ſome leagues diſtance from Madain, which was become the capital of the empire, where he loſt the battle and his life; ſo that the Perſians ſubmitted to Omar, more eaſily than they had received the yoke of Alexander.

THEN fell that ancient religion of the Magi, which had been reſpected by the conqueror of Darius, who never meddled with the worſhip of the people he ſubdued.

THE Magi, founded by Zoroaſter, and afterwards reformed by another of the ſame name, about the time of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, adored one God, were enemies to idolatry and images, and revered, as the emblem of divinity, the fire that vivifies all nature. They at all times acknowledged an evil principle, which God permitted to do miſchief: him they named Satan or Arimanius; and it was among this ſect that Manes learned his doctrine of the two principles. They regarded their religion as the moſt antient and pure of all others: their knowledge in the mathematicks, hiſtory and aſtronomy, inſpired them with contempt for their conquerors, who were then extremely ignorant: they would not abandon a religion conſecrated through ſo many ages, for the upſtart ſect of their enemies; and they retired to the extremities of Perſia and India, where they live at this day, under the names of Gaures, Guebres and Parſis; never marrying but

but among themſelves, ſtill maintaining the ſacred fire, faithful as far as they know it, to their ancient worſhip; but, ignorant, deſpiſed, and, except in their poverty, reſembling the Jews, who are diſperſed through the nations, without being allied to any; and ſtill more like unto the Bamians who are ſettled here and there, in India and towards the Perſian border. While one of Omar's lieutenants ſubdued Perſia, another wreſted all Ægypt and a great part of Lybia from the Romans. In this conqueſt was burnt the famous library of Alexandria, a monument of the learning and miſtakes of mankind, begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and augmented by ſo many kings: at that time the Saracens would have no other ſcience but the alkoran.

Omar being killed by a Perſian ſlave, Ali, that ſon-in-law of Mahomet, whom the Perſians at this day revere, and whoſe doctrines they follow in oppoſition to thoſe of Omar, obtained the caliphat, and tranſported the ſeat of empire, from the city of Medina, where Mahomet lies buried, to Couffa upon the banks of the Euphrates, of which at this day there are ſcarce any ruins remaining. What was remarkable

of Babylon, Seleucia, and all the ancient cities of Chaldea, was their being wholly built of bricks baked in the ſun.

AFTER the reign of ſixteen caliphs of the family of the Ammiades, ſucceeded thoſe called Acaſſides, of whom the celebrated Aaron Rachild was the fifth. This appellation of Rachild is the moſt ſublime of all titles, which the Muſſulmen durſt not even beſtow upon the prophet. Aaron Rachild and his ſon Monabdalla were cotemporary with Charlemain. This was the Abonabdalla who tranſlated the ſeat of that great empire to Bagdat in Chaldea, which city he is ſaid to have built: but the Perſians affirm it was extremely antient, and that the Arabians did nothing more than repair and embelliſh it. Sometimes it goes by the name of Babylon, and hath been, and ſtill is a bone of contention between the Perſians and Turks. The dominion of the caliphs laſted 655 years. Equally deſpotic in religion and government, though they were not adored like the great Lama, they enjoyed a more ſubſtantial authority; and even in the time of their decay, were reſpected by thoſe very princes who perſecuted them. All the ſultans, whether Turks, Arabians or Tartars,

tars, who afterwards aroſe, received the inveſtiture of their dominions from the caliphs.

If ever any power threatened the whole earth with conqueſt, it was ſurely that of the caliphs: for they had the right of the throne and the altar, of the ſword and the ſpirit: their commands were oracles, and their ſoldiers deſperate fanatics.

In the very beginning of the year 671, they beſieged Conſtantinople, which was deſtined to become one day Mahometan; the diviſions which are almoſt inevitable, among ſo many ferocious chiefs, did not put a ſtop to their conqueſts: in that particular they reſembled the antient Romans, who in the midſt of their civil wars had ſubdued the leſſer Aſia.

In 711 they paſſed from Ægypt into Spain, which had been ſubjected with eaſe, alternately by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths and Vandals, and now at length by thoſe Arabs called Moors, who eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Cordova. The ſultan of Ægypt had indeed ſhaken off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdat, and Abderam governor of the conquered part

of Spain, no longer owned the ſultan of Ægypt: nevertheleſs, every thing yielded to the arms of Muſſulmen.

As the caliphs grew powerful, they became polite. At length the arts began to revive at Couffa, and Damaſcus, where thoſe princes lived in tranquillity, the acknowledged ſovereigns of religion, and apparently of the whole empire. This Aaron Rachild, more reſpected than any of his predeceſſors, who made himſelf obeyed even in Spain, and as far as the river Indus, re-animated all the ſciences, taught the agreeable arts to flouriſh, invited learned men into his country, compoſed verſes, and made politeneſs ſucceed barbarity, through all his vaſt dominions. In his reign the Arabians imported among us thoſe cyphers they had learned from the Indians: the revolution and courſe of the ſtars were known in Germany and France, by the information of the Arabians: the very word almanack is a proof of this allegation.

THE Almageſt of Ptolemy was then tranſlated from the Greek into the Arabian language, by the aſtrologer Benhonain. The caliph Almamon, grand-ſon of Aaron Rachild,

Rachild, cauſed a degree of the meridian to be geometrically meaſured, in order to aſcertain the largeneſs of the globe; an operation which was not performed in France, till upwards of nine hundred years after that period, in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth. The aſtronomer Benhonain made conſiderable progreſs in his obſervations: he found out that either Ptolemy had fixed the ſun's utmoſt declination too far to the north; or that the obliquity of the ecliptic was changed: he even perceived that the period of ſix and thirty thouſand years aſſigned for the pretended motion of the fixed ſtars from Weſt to Eaſt, ought to be greatly abridged.

Chymistry and medicine were cultivated by the Arabians; the firſt, which is now brought to perfection in Europe, was communicated by them, to whom likewiſe we owe new remedies, called Minoratives, more gentle and ſalutary than thoſe formerly uſed in the ſchools of Hippocrates and Galen. In a word, from the ſecond century after Mahomet, the Chriſtians of the weſt were fain to take inſtruction from the Muſſulmen.

Of the NORMANS towards the ninth Century.

IT would be difficult to determine which country in Europe was at that time worſt governed and moſt unhappy. Every one was divided, conſequently all were feeble. This confuſion opened a paſſage to the people of Scandinavia, and thoſe who inhabited the coaſts of the Baltick. Theſe ſavages, overſtocked with numbers, having nothing but a barren ſoil to cultivate, and deſtitute of arts and manufactures, ſought nothing more than to ſpread themſelves at a diſtance from their native countries. Plunder and piracy were as neceſſary to them, as carnage is to wild beaſts of prey. In Germany they were called Normands, or Northmen, without diſtinction, as we ſay in general, the Corſairs of Barbary.

IN the beginning of the fourth century, they joined the fleets of other barbarians, and carried deſolation as far as Africa and Rome; yet, under Charlemain, they were ſo much confined, as to be afraid of ſlavery.

In the time of Lewis the debonnaire, they began their cruiſes. The foreſts with which their country was overgrown, furniſhed them with plenty of wood for building their barks, that were navigated with two ſails and a number of oars. About one hundred men could embark in one of theſe veſſels, with their proviſion of beer, ſea-biſcuit, cheeſe and ſalt beef: they ſailed along the coaſt, made deſcents where they found leaſt reſiſtance, and returned home with their booty, which was afterwards ſhared among them, according to the laws of piracy now in uſe at Sallee and Tunis. In the year 843, they entered France at the mouth of the river Seine, and pillaged the city of Rouen; another fleet ſailed up the Loire, laying waſte the whole country as far as Touraine: they made ſlaves of all the men, and ſhared among them the wives and daughters; taking away the very children, in order to breed them up to the trade of pyracy: all the cattle and furniture were alſo carried off; and they ſometimes ſold in one place what they had ſtole in another. Their firſt ſucceſs excited the avarice of their indigent brethren; and they were joined by thoſe that lived upon the coaſts of Germany and Gaul,

Gaul, in the ſame manner as the Renegadoes of Provence and the two Sicilies, have engaged in the ſervice of the African Corſairs.

In 844 the ſea was covered with their veſſels, they made deſcents almoſt at the ſame time, in England, France, and even in Spain, where they took Sevil, which they kept one year, at the end of which they were expelled by the Arabians.

IN 845 the Normans pillaged Hamburg, and penetrated into Germany. It was not then an aſſembly of diſorderly Corſairs, but a fleet of 660 great ſhips, on board of which was a formidable army, commanded by a king of Denmark, called Eric, who gained two battles before he reimbarked. That ſame king of pirates, after having returned to his own country, with the ſpoils of the Germans, ſent into France one of his Corſair admirals, to whom the hiſtories give the name of Regnier; he went up the Seine at the head of ſix and twenty ſail, and theſe in all probability did not contain twelve thouſand fighting men; nevertheleſs, with a number perhaps ſtill inferior, he plundered Rouen a ſecond time, and advanced even to Paris. In theſe invaſions, when the weakneſs

weakneſs of government hath provided nothing for defence, the terror of the people augments the peril, and the greater number flies before the leſs. The Pariſians, who in other conjunctures, defended themſelves with ſo much courage, on this occaſion abandoned their little town, where the Normans found nothing but wooden houſes, which they ſet on fire. The unfortunate king Charles the bald, retrenched at St. Denis, with a few troops, inſtead of oppoſing theſe barbarians, purchaſed ſuch a retreat as they were pleaſed to make, at the price of fourteen thouſand marks of ſilver.

We read in ſeveral authors, that many of thoſe barbarians were puniſhed with ſudden death, for having pillaged the church of St. Germain des Près.

Charles the bald in purchaſing this peace, gave the pyrates new means to make war, and deprived himſelf of the power to ſupport it againſt them. The Normans made uſe of that money in carrying on the ſiege of Bourdeaux, which they plundered; and what gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the humiliation and horrour of the French, Pepin king of Aquitain,

who

who was actually a deſcendant of Charlemain, being no longer able to reſiſt, united with them, and France about the year 858 was totally ravaged. The Normans, ſtrengthened by the junction of ſuch allies, for a long time deſolated Germany, Flanders, England and Italy; and whereas we have ſeen armies of an hundred thouſand men, ſcarce able, even after the moſt ſignal victories, to take a couple of towns, to ſuch perfection have we brought the art of fortifying, and taking other precautions againſt a ſiege; thoſe banditti fighting againſt other barbarians, diſunited among themſelves, ſcarce found any thing, after their firſt ſucceſs, to check the torrent of their incurſions; and when ſometimes they chanced to be defeated, they ſoon re-appeared with freſh forces.

GODFREY king of Denmark, to whom Charles the groſs at length yielded a part of Holland, in the year 882, penetrated from thence into Flanders. The Normans paſſed from the Somme to the Oiſe, without reſiſtance, took and burned Pontoiſe, and arrived at Paris by land and water. That city at preſent ſo immenſe, was then neither ſtrong, large, nor populous: the tower of the grand Chatelet was not intirely

tirely built when the Normans appeared; ſo that they were obliged to finiſh it in a hurry with wood, and the lower part of the tower being of ſtone, all above was timber work.

THE Pariſians, who at that time expected an irruption of the barbarians, did not as formerly abandon the city. Odon, or Eudes, count of Paris, who by his valour afterwards raiſed himſelf to the throne of France, made ſuch regulations in the city, as animated the inhabitants with courage, which ſerved them in lieu of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi chief of the Normans, proſecuted the ſiege, with obſtinate fury, not quite deſtitute of art. They made uſe of the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach and gave three aſſaults, which the Pariſians ſuſtained with unſhaken courage, having at their head not only count Eudes, but alſo Goſſin their biſhop, who every day, after having beſtowed his benediction upon the people, repaired to the breach, with a helmit on his head, a quiver at his back, and an hatchet at his girdle, and fought in ſight of the croſs, which he had planted on the rampart. This biſhop ſeems to have had at leaſt as much authority in the city, as

Count

Count Eudes, ſince it was to him that Sigefroi firſt addreſſed himſelf for permiſſion to enter Paris: be that as it will, he died in the middle of the ſiege, leaving his memory equally dear and reſpectable; for though he armed thoſe hands, which religion reſerved ſolely for the miniſtry of the altar, his arms were taken up in defence of the altar itſelf, as well as of his fellow citizens, in the moſt juſt cauſe, and on the moſt neceſſary occaſion, which ought always to be above the obſervation of ordinary laws.

THE ſiege laſted a year and an half, during which the inhabitants ſuffered all the horrors that attend a long blockade, ſuch as famine and peſtilence; and yet remained unſhaken at the end of that period. The emperor Charles the groſs, king of France, at length appeared for their relief, upon the mount of Mars, which is now called Mont-Martre; but being afraid to attack the Normans, he came only to buy another ſhameful truce. And thoſe barbarians quitted Paris to go and beſiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy; while Charles went to Mayence, to aſſemble the parliament, that deprived him of the throne which he was ſo unworthy to poſſeſs.

The

The Settlement of the DANES in NORMANDY.

AT length, Rollo, or Raoul, the moſt illuſtrious chief of all the northern pirates, having been expelled from Denmark, aſſembled in Scandinavia all thoſe who were attached to his fortune, and attempted new adventures, founding the hope of his future greatneſs upon the imbecility of Europe; he landed firſt in England, where his compatriots were already ſettled, and after having obtained two important victories, ſteered his courſe towards France, which though the Normans had ruined, they were never able to enſlave.

ROLLO was the only perſon among thoſe barbarians who ceaſed to merit the name, in ſeeking after a fixed eſtabliſhment. Having without difficulty made himſelf maſter of Rouen, inſtead of deſtroying the place, he ordered the walls and towers of it to be repaired.

HE converted it into a place of arms, from whence he went in queſt of plunder, ſometimes in England, and ſometimes in France, making war with equal policy and

and fury. France was then expiring under the reign of Charles the ſimple, a nominal king, whoſe monarchy was ſtill more diſmembred by the dukes, counts, and barons who were his own ſubjects, than even by the Normans themſelves. Charles the groſs had only given money to the barbarians; but Charles the ſimple offered to Rollo whole provinces, together with his own daughter in marriage.

RAOUL at firſt demanded Normandy, and they thought themſelves extremely happy in being ſo eaſily quit: he afterwards demanded Brittany, which was diſputed; but there was a neceſſity for abandoning that alſo, with certain clauſes, which the ſtrongeſt always explains for his own advantage. Thus Brittany, which was a kingdom, became a fief depending upon Neuſtria, which ſoon adopted the name of Normandy from its uſurpers, and now became a ſeparate ſtate, the dukes of which paid a vain and empty homage to the crown of France.

TRUE conquerors are thoſe who know how to conſtitute laws; their power becomes ſtable and permanent, while the others are no more than tranſient torrents.

Rollo

Rollo grown peaceable, was the only legiſlator of his time, on the whole chriſtian continent; it is well known with what inflexibility he adminiſtred juſtice; he even aboliſhed theft among his Danes, who had till that time lived by rapine alone; and a long time after his deceaſe, the ſole mention of his name was an order to the officers of juſtice, to exert themſelves in repreſſing violence and outrage: hence comes that cuſtom of crying haro, ſo well known in Normandy. The blood of thoſe Danes and Francs, intermingled afterwards, produced in that country thoſe heroes whom we ſhall ſee making conqueſts of England and Sicily.

Of ENGLAND in the ninth Century.

ENGLAND, after having been divided into ſeven petty kingdoms, was almoſt wholly re-united under king Egbert, when the ſame pirates that ravaged France, came to make a deſcent on this country.

IN the year 852, they are ſaid to have ſailed up the Thames with three hundred ſhips; the Engliſh did not defend themſelves better than the Francs had done; but like them paid tribute to their conquerors.

querors. Their king, called Ethelbert, followed the unfortunate example of Charles the bald; in giving money to their invaders: and the ſame fault met with the ſame puniſhment. The pirates made uſe of that very money to facilitate the ſubjection of the country; and accordingly they conquered one half of England. The Engliſh naturally courageous, and defended by their ſituation, muſt have had ſome very eſſential defects in their government, ſince they were always ſubdued, even by people who ought not to have invaded them with impunity. What is recounted of the horrible devaſtations which deſolated that iſland, even ſurpaſſes the accounts we have ſeen of their ravages in France. There are ſome periods in which the whole earth ſeems to be one theatre of carnage; theſe periods are but too frequent: and I ſuppoſe it is an agreeable reſpite to the reader, when amidſt ſuch horrours, he ſees ſome great man ariſe to deliver his country from ſervitude, and rule it in the capacity of a good king.

I DO not know, that ſince the time of the Antonines, there has been a man more worthy of the reſpect and veneration of poſterity, than Alfred the great, who rendered that

that ſervice to his country. He ſucceeded his brother Ethelred, who left him nothing but a conteſted right to the monarchy of England, now more than ever divided into ſovereignties, many of which were poſſeſſed by the Danes: beſides, freſh pirates arrived almoſt every year, to diſpute with the firſt uſurpers what little plunder ſtill remained.

Alfred being ſupported only by one province in the Weſt, was at firſt defeated in a pitched battle by thoſe barbarians, and abandoned by all the world: yet, unfriended and alone, he reſolved to revenge his country or periſh in the attempt; and lay concealed for ſix months in a ſhepherd's cottage, ſurrounded on all ſides with a moraſs. The count of Devonſhire, who ſtill defended a ſmall caſtle againſt the uſurpers, was the only perſon intruſted with the ſecret. At length this count reaſſembles a few troops, and gains ſome advantage. The opportunity being favourable, Alfred cloathed in the ragged apparel of the ſhepherd, ventures to repair to the Daniſh camp, which he enters in the character of an harper; viewing with his own eyes its ſituation and defects, and informed of a barbarous feſtival which the enemy

enemy were about to celebrate, he runs to the count of Devon, who had his ſoldiers ready, returns with a ſmall though reſolute body, ſurpriſes the Danes, and obtains a complete victory. They were at that time divided among themſelves; Alfred could negotiate as well as fight, and what is very ſtrange, both Danes and Engliſh unanimouſly acknowledged him as their king.

THERE was nothing left to reduce but London, which had been ſeized by one of the piratical chiefs. He took, fortified, and embelliſhed that city, fitted out fleets, reſtrained the licenſe of the Danes in England, oppoſed the deſcents of other adventurers of the ſame nation; and afterwards, during a peaceable reign of twelve years, continued to civilize his country, which he had conquered from ſtrangers. His laws were mild, but ſeverely executed: he it was who inſtituted juries, divided England into ſhires or counties; and who firſt encouraged his ſubjects to trade. He lent money to wiſe and enterpriſing men, who went as far as Alexandria, and from thence paſſing the iſthmus of Suez, trafficked in the Perſian ſea: he cauſed brick houſes to be built in London, which formerly was wholly

wholly built of wood; he ſettled the militia, eſtabliſhed divers courts of juſtice, and reſtored that concord which is the conſequence of prudent regulation.

In my opinion, there is no truly great man, who is not a friend to learning; becauſe no man can be great without a good underſtanding. Alfred laid the firſt foundations of the univerſity of Oxford, and ſent for books from Rome; for there were ſcarce any to be found in England, which was wholly barbarous and illiterate: inſomuch, that he complained there was not one Engliſh prieſt who underſtood Latin. Yet he himſelf was acquainted with that language, and even a pretty good mathematician for the times: he was well verſed in hiſtory, and is ſaid to have compoſed verſes in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Thoſe moments which were not employed in ſtate affairs, he ſpent in ſtudy; and a wiſe œconomy enabling him to be liberal, he rebuilt ſeveral churches which had gone to ruin. Hiſtory, by which he is neither accuſed of vice nor weakneſs, places him in the firſt rank of thoſe heroes who were uſeful to mankind, which without ſuch extraordinary men, muſt have ſtill reſembled the beaſts of the field.

Of SPAIN and the MUSSULMEN in the eighth and ninth Centuries.

I PERCEIVE in Spain, misfortunes and revolutions of another kind, which merit particular attention: but we muſt briefly trace them back to their ſource, and remember that the Goths who uſurped that kingdom, turned Chriſtians, but remained barbarians, and were driven out in the eighth century, by the Muſſulmen of Africk. I believe the imbecillity of king Vamba, who was ſhut up in a cloiſter, was the ſource of that monarchy's decay; and to his weakneſs was owing the madneſs of his ſucceſſors. Vitiza, a prince ſtill more ſtupid, becauſe he was more cruel than Vamba, diſarmed his ſubjects, whom he dreaded, and by theſe means deprived himſelf of their aſſiſtance. Rodorigo, whoſe father Vitiza had murdered, aſſaſſinated Vitiza in his turn, and was ſtill a worſe man, and a more wretched politician than his predeceſſor. We need not ſeek for any other cauſe of that ſuperiority which the Muſſulmen acquired in Spain; I do not know whether there is any truth in that ſtory of Rodorigo's having raviſhed Florinda, alias Cava, the wretched and unhappily

happily celebrated daughter of count Julian; and that in order to revenge his honour, the count called in the Moors; perhaps the adventure of Cava is partly copied from that of Lucretia, and neither one nor t'other ſeems to be ſupported by authentic proofs. To call in the Africans, there ſeems to have been no need for the pretext of a rape, which is uſually as difficult to prove as to commit: for, in the reign of Vamba, count Hervig, afterwards king, had already brought over an army of Moors. Count Julian, Vitiza's ſon-in-law, found ſufficient reaſon in that alliance to riſe in arms againſt the tyrant. Opas, archbiſhop of Sevil, ſon of Vitiza, who had been dethroned and aſſaſſinated by Rodorigo, was one chief inſtrument of the revolution; and had no occaſion for new motives to engage in the conſpiracy of count Julian.

Be that as it will, the Mahometans being poſſeſſed, as they ſtill are, of all that part of Afric, which had belonged to the Romans, founded the city of Morocco, in the neighbourhood of mount Atlas. The caliph Valide Almanzor, maſter of that fine country, reſided at Damaſcus in Syria. His viceroy Muzza, who governed

Afric, made the conqueſt of all Spain, by one of his lieutenants: firſt of all he ſent thither his general Tarif, who in 714 gained that famous battle in which Rodorigo loſt his life; and it is pretended, that the Saracens did not keep their promiſe to Julian, whom without all doubt they diſtruſted. Archbiſhop Opas was better ſatisfied with their conduct: he took an oath of fidelity to the Mahometans, under whom he preſerved a great deal of authority over the chriſtian churches, which were tolerated by the conquerors.

As for king Rodorigo, he was ſo little regretted, that Egilona his widow, publickly married young Abdalis, the ſon of ſultan Muzza, by whoſe arms her huſband had loſt his life, and her country and religion were enſlaved.

WE muſt not ſuppoſe with the vulgar, that thoſe new maſters of the Eaſt and Weſt, were no other than ferocious monſters, whoſe ſuperiority wholly conſiſted in brutal force: certain it is, that notwithſtanding thoſe cruelties which are inſeparable from conqueſt, they did not treat the vanquiſhed with inhumanity; for the Chriſtians were tolerated in all their cities, eſ-

pecially in Spain; they only obliged them to pay double taxes; and a chriſtian monaſtery was in perfect ſecurity, by the yearly payment of one hundred ſilver marks: a cathedral paid two hundred: the Chriſtians were forbid to profane the word ALLA, which ſignifies God, and to keep their doors open during the celebration of their myſteries: if they attempted the chaſtity of a Mahometan's wife, they were puniſhed with death; and if they amuſed themſelves with an unmarried woman of that perſuaſion, they were obliged to marry her, and turn Muſſulman, or die. In other reſpects, they were left to the protection of their own laws, and never judged by their conquerors, except in criminal caſes.

IN fourteen months, all Spain was ſubjected to the empire of the caliphs, except the caverns and rocks of Aſturia, in which retreats Pelagio Tendomer concealed himſelf and preſerved his liberty. He was related to the laſt king Rodorigo; but I do not know how they could give him the appellation of king, though he really deſerved the title; for his whole royalty conſiſted in his having avoided captivity. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, and thoſe who adopt

their aſſertions, make him a great conqueror, imagine miracles in his favour, give him a ſplendid court, and ſupply him with a ſon, and ſon-in-law called Alphonſus, who quietly ſucceeded him in that pretended monarchy: but, is it probable, that the Mahometans, who about the year 734 ſubdued the half of France, under the auſpices of Abderame, would have allowed the kingdom of the Aſturies to ſubſiſt behind the Pyrenees? It was well for the Chriſtians that they could take refuge in thoſe mountains, and live upon the fruits of their cruizes, for which they paid tribute to the Mahometans.

IT was not till about the year 759 that the Chriſtians began to make head againſt their conquerors, who were weakened by the victories of Charles Martel, and their own diviſions: but theſe, ſtill more at variance among themſelves, than the Mahometans, ſoon relapſed into ſlavery.

MAUREGAT, upon whom the hiſtorians have been pleaſed to confer the title of king, had permiſſion to govern the Aſturies, and ſome neighbouring countries, on condition of doing homage, and paying tribute; he even ſtooped to furniſh yearly,

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one hundred beautiful and marriageable maidens for the ſeraglio of that Abderame, who was really defeated by Charles Martel: but in Spain he conquered both Chriſtians and Muſſulmen; and his name is celebrated for his lucky rebellion againſt the caliphs, for his wars and magnificence.

A DEACON, called Veremont, chief of the Highland refugees, is repreſented as the ſucceſſor of this Mauregat: he did the ſame homage, and furniſhed the ſame number of young women, whom he was often obliged to buy for the purpoſe. Is this a kingdom? are theſe monarchs? A number of maidens made always part of the tribute which was paid to the Arabians. It is a point of their policy, and it was always expreſly ſtipulated in the treaties that were made with the Arabians of the deſart, that they ſhould receive a certain number of young women fit for generation. After the death of Abderame, the emirs of the Spaniſh provinces wanted to render themſelves independant, and one of them was ſo imprudent as to call in Charlemain to his aſſiſtance. If at that time there had been really a Chriſtian kingdom in Spain, would not Charles have protected it with his arms, rather than have joined the Ma-

hometans? We have ſeen how he took that emir under his protection, and made him do homage for all the lands between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, which were poſſeſſed by the Muſſulmen: and we have ſeen that in 799, the Moor Abutaur did homage to Lewis the debonnaire, who with the title of king, governed Aquitaine under his father.

SOME time after, the diviſions increaſed among the Moors of Spain; and the council of Lewis the debonnaire, took advantage of theſe animoſities. His troops beſieged Barcelona two whole years, and Lewis entered it in triumph, in the year 796, which is the Æra of the decline of the Moors. Theſe conquerors were no longer ſupported by the Africans and caliph, whoſe yoke they had ſhaken off; and the ſucceſſors of Abderame, having fixed the ſeat of empire at Cordova, were very ill obeyed by the governours of the other provinces.

IN theſe happy conjunctures, the Spaniſh Chriſtians, who had retired to the Aſturies, began to be conſiderable, under the auſpices of Alphonſo, one of Pelagio's deſcendants. He refuſed the uſual tribute to his maſters, againſt whom he was now

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in a condition to take the field, and after having obtained ſome victories, ſaw himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Aſturies and Leon, in the beginning of the ninth century.

WITH him we muſt begin to reſume the chriſtian kings of Spain. He was artful, cruel, and denominated THE CHASTE, becauſe he was the firſt that refuſed to ſend the tribute of maidens to the Moors; not that we are to ſuppoſe he commenced the war, rather than pay ſuch a tribute; but being reſolved to withdraw himſelf from their dominion, and be no longer tributary, he could not help refuſing the maidens as well as the reſt of the impoſition.

THE ſucceſs of Alphonſo, who in deſpite of many croſſes, maintained himſelf againſt the Mahometans, emboldened the other Chriſtians to elect a king; and the inhabitants of Arragon raiſed their ſtandard under the command of a count: ſo that towards the end of the reign of Lewis the debonnaire, neither the Moors, nor the French poſſeſſed any part of thoſe barren countries: but the reſt of Spain was ſtill ſubject to Mahometan kings. About this time the Normans ravaged the coaſt of

Spain, but being repulſed, they returned, as we have already obſerved, to the pillage of France and England.

IT is not ſurpriſing that the Spaniards of the Aſturies, Leon, and Arragon, were at that time in a ſtate of barbarity: the war that ſucceeded their ſlavery, could not contribute to poliſh their manners. Accordingly they remained in ſuch profound ignorance, that Alphonſo, ſirnamed the great, king of Leon, and the Aſturies, was fain to employ Mahometan preceptors for the education of his ſon.

THIS very Alphonſo, called the great, put out the eyes of his four brothers; and his life was nothing but a ſeries of cruelty and deceit. He finiſhed his reign by incurring the revolt of his ſubjects, and was obliged to yield his petty kingdom to his ſon, about the year 910. What was this great man but a barbarian dethroned?

The Progreſs of the MUSSULMEN.

IN the mean time the Mahometans, tho' they loſt that part of Spain which borders upon France, extended themſelves in every other place. If I take notice of their

religion, I ſee it embraced through all India, and along the eaſt and weſt coaſts of Africa, to which they traded. And with regard to their conqueſts, firſt of all, the caliph Aaron Rachild, cotemporary with Charlemain, impoſes a yearly tribute of ſeventy thouſand crowns in gold upon the empreſs Irene: the emperor Nicephorus, having refuſed in the ſequel to pay this tribute, Aaron takes the iſland of Cyprus, and ravages Greece; his grandſon Almamon, a prince in other reſpects, ſo commendable for his knowledge and love of ſcience, by means of his lieutenants, poſſeſſes himſelf of Crete, where in 825 the Muſſulmen built the town of Candia, which gave its name to the whole iſland.

In 826, the ſame Africans who had ſubdued Spain, and already made frequent incurſions into Sicily, ſettled themſelves in poſſeſſion of that fruitful iſle, being aided and encouraged by a Sicilian called Euphemius, who having married a nun, and finding himſelf proſecuted by the laws, behaved nearly in the ſame manner in Sicily, as count Julian had done in Spain.

NEITHER the Greek emperors, nor thoſe of the Weſt, could then expel the Muſſul-

men from Sicily, ſuch was the male adminiſtration both in the Eaſt and Weſt; and thoſe conquerors would have made themſelves maſters of Italy, had they been united; but Rome was ſaved by their diſſenſions, as it had been of old, by thoſe of the Carthaginians. In 846, they ſet ſail from Sicily, with a numerous fleet; they entered the mouth of the Tyber, and finding nothing but an almoſt deſart country, reſolved to beſiege the city of Rome: they actually took the ſuburbs, and having pillaged the church of St. Peter, that ſtood without the walls, they raiſed the ſiege, in order to engage an army of French, who had marched to the relief of Rome, under a general of the emperor Lotharius. The French army was defeated, but the city having received a freſh ſupply, was not taken; and that expedition, which might have been a conqueſt, in conſequence of their mutual miſunderſtandings, turned out no more than an incurſion of barbarians. Soon after this miſcarriage, they returned with a formidable army, which threatened to deſtroy Italy, and convert the capital of Chriſtendom into a Mahometan borough.

Pope Leo the fourth, in this dangerous conjuncture, aſſuming an authority which the generals of the emperor Lotharius ſeemed to abandon, ſhewed himſelf in defending Rome, worthy to be its ſovereign. He had employed the riches of the church in repairing the walls, raiſing towers, and ſtretching chains acroſs the Tyber: he armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gayeta, to come and defend the coaſt and port of Oſtium: not forgetting the ſage precaution to take a couple of hoſtages for his own ſecurity; well knowing that thoſe who were capable of aſſiſting, were likewiſe powerful enough to do miſchief. He in perſon viſited all the poſts, and received the Saracens at their deſcent, not in the equipage of a warrior, which Goſſin biſhop of Paris had wore upon a more preſſing occaſion; but in the character of a pontiff, who exhorts a chriſtian people, and of a king, who watches for the ſafety of his ſubjects. He was born a Roman, and in him the courage of the firſt ages of the republic revived, even in a time of cowardice and corruption, like one of thoſe beautiful monuments of the old city,

city, which are ſometimes found amidſt the ruins of the new.

HIS courage and care were well ſeconded: the Saracens were bravely received in their deſcent, and one half of their ſhips being ſcattered by a tempeſt, the reſt of thoſe conquerors who eſcaped ſhipwreck, were reduced to ſlavery.

THE pope rendered this victory the more uſeful, in forwarding the fortifications and embelliſhments of Rome, by thoſe very hands that were deſtined for its deſtruction. Mean while, the Mahometans kept poſſeſſion of Gavillan, between Capua and Gayeta, but rather as a neſt of independant corſairs, than a colony of diſciplined conquerors.

IN the ninth century, therefore, we ſee the Muſſulmen, at one time formidable to Rome and Conſtantinople, maſters of Perſia, Syria, Arabia, and all the coaſt of Africa as far as mount Atlas, together with three fourths of Spain; but theſe conquerors did not all belong to one nation, like the Romans, who in extending their empire almoſt as far, ſtill remained one united people. All thoſe nations, lately converted

verted to Iſmaniſm, were confederated, like the Chriſtians in their worſhip, and like them too divided by intereſt.

In the year 815, a little after the death of Charlemain, Ægypt became independant in the reign of the famous caliph Almamon, and Grand Cairo was the reſidence of a ſultan; while Tingitan prince of Mauritania was under the title of Miramolin, abſolute maſter of the empire of Morocco. Nubia and Lybia obeyed another ſultan; and the Abderames, who had founded the kingdom of Cordova, could not hinder the reſt of the Mahometans to eſtabliſh the monarchy of Toledo. All theſe new dynaſties revered the caliph as the ſucceſſor of the prophet. The Mahometans from all parts of the world, went in pilgrimage to Mecca, which was governed by cherifs, whom the caliph named; and it was principally on account of this pilgrimage, that the caliph as maſter of Mecca, was revered by all the princes of his faith; but theſe princes, more faithful to their own intereſts than to their religion, enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the caliph, while they affected to treat him with ſubmiſſion and reſpect.

Of the Empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, in the eighth and ninth Centuries.

WHILE the empire of Charlemain was diſmembered, and thoſe inundations of Saracens and Normans overwhelmed the Weſt, the empire of Conſtantinople ſubſiſted like a large tree ſtill vigorous, though old and deprived of ſome roots, and aſſaulted on all ſides by the tempeſts of heaven. This empire no longer poſſeſſed any thing in Africa; Syria and part of leſſer Aſia had been wreſted from it: yet they defended their frontiers towards the eaſtern part of the Black ſea againſt the Muſſulmen; and ſometimes conquered, and ſometimes conquerors, they might at leaſt have kept their ground, by the continual practice of war: but from the Danube, and the weſtern ſhore of the Black ſea, it was ravaged by other enemies. A nation of Scythians, called Abares, or Avares, together with the Bulgares, their countrymen, from whom Bulgaria takes its name, laid waſte all the fine country of Romania, in which Adrian and Trajan had built thoſe noble cities, and great highways, of which only ſome detached cauſeways now remain.

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THE Abares, eſpecially ſpreading into Hungary and Auſtria, poured in ſwarms, ſometimes upon the eaſtern empire, and ſometimes upon the dominions of Charlemain: thus, from the borders of Perſia, to the frontiers of France, the earth was a prey to almoſt continual incurſions.

WHILE the frontiers of the Grecian empire were daily contracted and laid waſte, the capital was a theatre of revolutions and crimes. A mixture of Grecian cunning, and Thracian brutality formed the prevailing character at court. In a word, what a ſpectacle does Conſtantinople preſent to the view? Mauritins and his five children maſſacred, Phocas aſſaſſinated in return for his murders and inceſts, Conſtantine poiſoned by the empreſs Martina, whoſe tongue was afterwards pulled out, while the noſe of her ſon Heracleonas was cut off, Conſtans killed in the bath by his own ſervants, Conſtantine Pogonatus putting out the eyes of his two brothers, his ſon Juſtinian the ſecond on the eve of re acting at Conſtantinople what Theodore had done at Theſſalonica, ſurpriſed, mutilated, and put in chains by Leontius, the very moment when he was going to put the principal

principal citizens to death; Leontius himſelf in a little time uſed in the ſame manner as he had treated Juſtinian the ſecond, who being re-eſtabliſhed on the throne, ordered the blood of his enemies to be ſhed before his eyes in the public forum, and afterwards died himſelf under the hangman's hand; Philip Bardanes dethroned and condemned to loſe his eyeſight; Leon the Iſaurian, and Conſtantine Copronimus, dying indeed in their beds, but not till after a bloody reign, alike unfortunate to the prince and ſubject; the empreſs Irene, the firſt woman that aſcended the throne of Cæſar, and the firſt who mounted any throne by effecting the murder of her own ſon; Nicephorus her ſucceſſor, deteſted by his ſubjects, taken priſoner by the Bulgarians, by whom he was beheaded, his body being left for food to wild beaſts, and his ſkull converted into a drinking cup for his conqueror; finally, Michael Curopalatus, cotemporary with Charlemain, confined in a cloyſter, and dying, though not ſo bloody, yet as cruel a death as thoſe of his predeceſſors.

NOT to leave imperfect this picture, horrible and diſguſting as it is, we muſt obſerve, in the ninth century, Leon the Arme-

Armenian, a brave warrior, but an enemy to images, aſſaſſinated at maſs, while he was ſinging an anthem; his murderers applauding themſelves for having ſlain an heretic at the altar, go and bring forth from priſon an officer called Michael the Stammerer, condemned to death by the ſenate, who inſtead of being hanged, received the imperial purple.

The affairs of the church are ſo intermingled with thoſe of the ſtate, that I can rarely ſeparate them as I could wiſh. That antient quarrel about images was always productive of trouble to the empire. The court was ſometimes for, and ſometimes againſt the worſhip of them; and this Michael the Stammerer began with their conſecration, and ended with their expulſion.

His ſucceſſor Theophilus, who reigned about twelve years after the beginning of 829, declared himſelf an enemy to this part of worſhip; hiſtorians ſay he did not believe the reſurrection, that he denied the exiſtence of devils, and would not admit the divinity of Chriſt. This might have been the caſe: but muſt we take the characters, I will not ſay of princes, but even

of

of private men, upon the evidence of their enemies, who without ſupporting their aſſertions with facts, exclaim againſt the religion and morals of all thoſe who chance to differ from them in points of opinion?

THIS Theophilus, ſon of Michael the Stammerer, was almoſt the only emperor, who during the courſe of two whole centuries had quietly ſucceeded to his father. In his reign the Catholics were more than ever perſecuted: and from thoſe long perſecutions, it is eaſy to conclude, that the citizens were divided among themſelves; and that the eaſtern empire was harraſſed by one of thoſe civil wars, which without ſiege or battle, deſtroy the ſecurity and repoſe of every family, and wholly embitter life.

THEODORA, miſtreſs of the empire, under young Michael her ſon, perſecuted in her turn, the enemies of images; ſhe even carried her zeal or policy a greater length. There was ſtill in Aſia Minor a great number of Manicheans, who lived very peaceably, becauſe that fury of enthuſiaſm was now paſſed, which is ſeldom violent, but in the birth and beginning of different ſects; they were rich by commerce, conſequently

ſequently uſeful to the ſtate: but whether the ſhaft was aimed at their opinions, or their wealth, certain it is, very ſevere edicts were cruelly executed againſt them. This perſecution revived their firſt fanaticiſm, and thouſands of them were put to death, while the reſt being reduced to deſpair, revolted; upwards of forty thouſand retired among the Muſſulmen; and thoſe Manicheans, who were formerly ſo quiet, became the irreconcileable enemies of the empire, joined the Saracens, and ravaged Aſia Minor, to the very gates of the imperial city, depopulated by a dreadful plague in 842, ſo as to be a deplorable object of compaſſion.

WHAT is properly called the plague, is as well as the ſmall pox, of the growth of Africa, from whence it is tranſported in merchant ſhips: it would overwhelm all Europe, were it not for the wiſe precautions that are taken in our ports; and probably it was the inattention of government, that allowed this contagion to enter the imperial city. The ſame want of attention expoſed the empire to another ſcourge. The Ruſſians, who had never before been heard of, embarked in the neighbourhood of a port upon the Black ſea,

ſea, which is now called Azoph, and ravaged all the coaſts of the Euxine: the Arabians mean while puſhed their conqueſts beyond Armenia, and into Aſia Minor; and Michael the young, after a cruel and unfortunate reign, was aſſaſſinated by Baſilius, whom he had raiſed from the loweſt ſphere of life, to be his collegue in the empire.

THE adminiſtration of Baſilius was not much more happy than that of his predeceſſors: his reign is the epocha of the grand ſchiſm, which divided the Greek and Latin churches, and of which I ſhall ſpeak in the article of the church, that I may avoid a confuſion of ſubjects.

THE grievances of the empire were not greatly redreſſed in the reign of Leon, who was called the philoſopher; not that he reſembled Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Aaron Rachild, or Alfred; but becauſe he was a learned man, and a good writer. In other reſpects, Leon is ſaid to have been the firſt that opened a road to the Turks, who ſo many years afterwards took Conſtantinople. In effect, the hiſtories inform us, that this prince having been frequently defeated and hard preſſed

by

by the Bulgarians, purchaſed the aſſiſtance of the Turks, who then lived beyond the mouths of the Danube; on the north of theſe is Beſſarabia, formerly the country of the Getæ, but now a part of Poland and the Ukrain.

THE Turks, who took the field after the Saracens, and who joining with them, became their ſupport, and the deſtruction of the Grecian empire, had already ſent colonies into the countries bordering on the Danube; but there is ſcarce any authentic account either of the firſt or laſt migrations of thoſe barbarians.

YET there is too much reaſon to believe that mankind have lived a long time in this manner. Scarce had one country received a little cultivation, when it was invaded by ſome famiſhed people, who in their turn were expelled by a third. Did not the Gauls make a deſcent upon Italy? Did not they penetrate as far as Aſia Minor? Have not twenty different ſwarms come from Great Tartary in queſt of new countries? Thoſe Tartars within four hundred years, overſpread the whole Roman empire, whereas in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, civilized people went

to ſubdue ſavages in a new world. At that time, however, the ſavages ſprung up again and ſubdued the civilized Chriſtians.

IN ſpite of ſo many diſaſters, it was for a long time, of all the Chriſtian cities, the moſt populous and opulent, as well as the moſt commendable for the arts; and its ſituation alone, by which it commanded two ſeas, rendered it of conſequence the center of trade. The plague in 842, diſtructive as it was, ſeemed only a tranſient ſcourge. The trading cities, where the court reſides, are always re-peopled by an affluence of their neighbours. The mechanic and liberal arts do not periſh in a capital abounding with wealth; all thoſe ſudden revolutions of ſtate, the crimes of ſo many emperors, murdered by one another, are tempeſts which ſeldom fall upon private men, who cultivate in peace the profeſſions which do not attract envy. The Grecian language, which prevailed at Conſtantinople, was another preſervative againſt barbarity; accordingly, we ſhall ſee in the chapter of arts and ſciences, that even in the decline of the empire, ſome remains of the antient ſpirit of the Greeks were ſtill preſerved.

THEIR

THEIR riches were not at all exhauſted; for, it is recorded, when Theodora, Michael's mother, was obliged to reſign the regency in the year 857, ſhe gave the emperor to underſtand, that in the royal treaſury he had one hundred and nine thouſand pounds weight in gold, and three hundred thouſand pounds in ſilver.

A PRUDENT government might have therefore maintained the empire in full power: it was contracted, but not diſmembered, undergoing ſudden changes of emperors, but always united under him who was inveſted with the purple; in a word, it was richer, and abounded with more reſources; nevertheleſs it is no more, while the German empire ſtill ſubſiſts.

The ſtate of the weſtern empire, and of Italy, towards the end of the ninth, during the whole tenth, and the half of the eleventh century, as far down as the emperor Henry the third.

AFTER the depoſition of Charles the groſs, the empire exiſted only in name. Arnaud, Arnolf or Arnold, the baſtard of Carloman, by a young woman called Carantine, made himſelf maſter of Germany; but Italy was divided between two noblemen, deſcendants of Charlemain by their mothers. One was duke of Spolletta, called Guy; the other Beranger, duke of Friuli, both inveſted with theſe dutchies, by Charles the bald, and both pretenders to the empire, as well as one Bozon, king of Arles, who diſputed their pretenſions. The pope Formoſa, in the midſt of thoſe troubles that deſolated Italy, could not help giving the ſacred unction to the ſtrongeſt: in 892 he crowned this Guy of Spolletto; the next year did the ſame good office to Beranger, who happened to be conqueror, and two years after that tranſaction, he was obliged to crown

crown that German Arnaud, who beſieged Rome and took it by ſtorm.

AFTER the death of Arnold, his ſon Hiludovic, whom we call Lewis the fourth, was created emperor, when he was but three or four years of age, by ſome German counts and biſhops, in a barbarous village called Pourkempar: but that government was a ſtrange ſort of Roman empire, which neither comprehended the country between the Rhine and the Meuſe, Burgundy, France, nor Spain, nor indeed any thing in Italy but what could be got at the head of an army; and not ſo much as one houſe in Rome, which could be ſaid to belong to the emperor. From the time of this, Lewis the laſt emperor of the baſtard blood of Charlemain, who died in 912, the Roman empire, contracted within Germany, was in ſome reſpects in the ſame condition with France; a country laid waſte under an ill-obeyed prince, in conſequence of civil wars excited by ſtrangers.

GOVERNMENTS are ſubject to all ſorts of revolutions: and none can be more ſtriking than that by which we ſee thoſe ſavage Saxons who were treated by Charlemain, like the Helotes by the Lacedemo-

nians, at the end of 112 years, beſtowing and aſſuming that very dignity which was no longer in the family of their conqueror. Otho, duke of Saxony, after the death of Lewis, by his credit ſet the crown of Germany upon the head of Conrad, and at length, Henry the Fowler, ſon to this Otho, was choſen. All thoſe who had raiſed themſelves to the rank of hereditary princes in Germany, joined to the biſhops, made theſe elections, during the decline of Charlemain's family; moſt of the provincial governors had made themſelves abſolute; and that which at firſt was uſurpation, ſoon became hereditary right; and in France and Italy, the noblemen formed as many principalities as they had eſtates.

THE biſhops of many great ſees, already powerful by their rank and influence, and rich in dominions and ſlaves, had but one ſtep to make towards the degree of ſovereigns, and that was ſoon taken. Hence came the ſecular power of the biſhops of Mentz, Cologne, Triers, Wurſburg, and ſo many more, both in Germany and France. The archbiſhops of Rheims, Lyons, Beauvois, Langres, Laon, &c. arrogated to themſelves the rights of regality. Yet this power of the clergy did not long remain

remain in France; though in Germany it hath been for many years eſtabliſhed. In fine, the monks themſelves became princes; the abbots of Fulde, St. Gall, Kimpten, Corbie, &c. were petty kings, in the countries where eighty years before they and their monks had grubbed up ſome lands, which were given to them in charity by the proprietors.

All thoſe lords, dukes, counts, marquiſſes, biſhops and abbots did homage to one ſovereign elected by the majority: and this was all that remained of their antient dependancy. The feudal government was then a meer anarchy; there being no ties that could attach the great vaſſals to thoſe that were direct. They accordingly made war among themſelves; and Italy groaned under the ſame diſorders.

The world hath been a long time making inquiry about the origin of the feudal government, which was probably no other than the antient cuſtom of the ſtronger impoſing homage or tribute upon the weaker. We know that the Roman emperors beſtowed lands in pepetuity upon their veteran ſoldiers, on condition that their children ſhould ſerve from the age of

eighteen; examples of this tenure are to be found in the lives of Alexander Severus, and Probus: the Lombards were the firſt who erected dutchies holding in fief of their kingdom; under theſe monarchs Spolletto and Benevent became hereditary dutchies.

BEFORE the time of Charlemain, Taſſillon poſſeſſed the dutchy of Bavaria, on condition of paying homage, and it would have belonged to his deſcendants, if Charlemain, having vanquiſhed that prince, had not diſpoſſeſſed the father and his ſons. Aquitane had likewiſe its hereditary dukes: but Charlemain, as far as it lay in his power, ſwallowed up all thoſe principalities in his own. Thoſe who had been deſirous of becoming princes, were then no more than great officers; but in the time of Charles the ſimple, Lewis and Conrad, thoſe officers became princes in good earneſt.

THERE being no free towns in Germany at that time, they had no trade, no riches: what towns they had, were even deſtitute of walls. The ſtate which might have been ſo powerful, was become ſo weak by the number and diviſions of its maſters,

maſters, that the emperor Conrad was obliged ſolemnly to promiſe an annual tribute to the Hungarians, Huns, or Pannonians ſo well known by Charlemain, and ſince by the emperors of the houſe of Auſtria; but then they ſeemed to be juſt ſuch people as they had been under Attila. They ravaged Germany and the frontiers of France; having pillaged Bavaria, they made a deſcent upon Italy, by the Tyrol, and afterwards returned with the ſpoils of ſo many nations.

It was in the reign of Henry the fowler, that this chaos of Germany began to be reduced into ſome order. The limits of the empire were at that time, the river Oder, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, the banks of the Rhine, the Schelde, the Moſelle, and the Meuſe; and Pomerania and Holſtein were its barriers towards the north.

Henry the fowler muſt have been one of the beſt of kings; under him were united the noblemen of Germany, who had been ſo much divided: the firſt fruit of this re-union, was an exemption from the tribute they had paid to the Hungarians, and a great victory obtained over that, then, terrible nation. He ſurrounded

moſt of the towns in Germany with walls, and formed a militia: to him is aſcribed the invention of ſome military games, which give an idea of tournaments: and at length Germany reſpired. The archbiſhop of Mentz had conſecrated Henry; no legate from the pope, no envoy from the Romans, aſſiſted at his coronation: ſo that Germany ſeemed to have forgot Italy, during this whole reign.

THIS was not the caſe under Otho the great, whom the German princes, biſhops and abbots unanimouſly elected, upon the death of his father Henry. The acknowledged heir of a powerful prince, who hath founded or re-eſtabliſhed a ſtate, is always more puiſſant than his father, provided he is not deficient in point of courage; for he enters upon a carreer which is already open, and begins where his predeceſſor left off. Thus Alexander proceeded farther than Philip, Charlemain improved upon Pepin, and Otho the great ſurpaſſed Henry the fowler.

OTHO, who re-eſtabliſhed one part of Charlemain's empire, like him too, extended the chriſtian religion in Germany, by dint of conqueſt. He compelled the

Danes

Danes by force of arms, to pay tribute and receive baptiſm, which, though it had been preached to them a whole century before, was at that time almoſt entirely aboliſhed.

THOSE Danes who had conquered Neuſtria, and England, and ravaged France and Germany, now received law from Otho. He eſtabliſhed biſhops in Denmark, who at that time were ſubject to the archbiſhop of Hamburgh, metropolitan of the barbarian churches lately founded in Holſtein, Sweden and Denmark; the whole of their religion conſiſting in making the ſign of the croſs. He ſubdued Bohemia, after an obſtinate war; ſince his time only, Bohemia and even Denmark were reputed provinces of the empire; but the Danes in a little time ſhook off the yoke.

THUS Otho became the moſt conſiderable monarch of the weſt, as well as umpire among the princes.

HE was invited to croſs the Alps, even by the Italians, who being ever factious and feeble, could neither ſubmit to the power of their compatriots, nor be free;

nor even defend themſelves at one time againſt the Saracens and Hungarians, whoſe incurſions ſtill infeſted their country.

ITALY, even though in ruins, the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing country of the weſt, was inceſſantly tore in pieces by ſome ſort of tyranny; but Rome in theſe diviſions, ſtill gave motion to the other Italian cities.

The conqueſt of ENGLAND, by WILLIAM duke of NORMANDY.

WHILE the private ſubjects of Normandy founded kingdoms in Italy, their dukes acquired one much more important, over which the popes pretended to have the ſame right, which they aſſumed over Naples and Sicily.

AFTER the death of Alfred the great, which happened in the year nine hundred, England relapſed into confuſion and barbarity. The Anglo-Saxons, its old conquerors, were continually diſputing the right of poſſeſſion with the Danes, its new uſurpers; while freſh pirates from Denmark came often to partake of its ſpoils.

THESE

THESE pirates continued ſo terrible, and the Engliſh ſo weak, that about the year one thouſand, theſe laſt could not be rid of the others, but by paying to them thirty thouſand livres. In order to raiſe this ſum, a tax was impoſed, which remained a long time after in England; and this humbling tribute was known by the name of Dannegelt.

CANUT, king of Denmark, who was called the great, though he performed nothing but cruelties, in the year 1017, reduced both Denmark and England under his dominion. The Engliſh were then treated as ſlaves: for, the authors of that time confeſs, that when an Engliſhman was met by a Dane, he was obliged to ſtop and let the other paſs.

THE heirs of Canut failing, in 1041, the ſtates of the kingdom re-aſſumed their liberty, and transferred the crown upon Edward, deſcended from the antient Anglo-Saxons, who was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of ſaint and confeſſor. One of the great faults or misfortunes of that king, was his want of children by his wife Editia, daughter of the moſt powerful lord in the realm; he, for reaſons of ſtate, hated his

queen, as well as his own mother, and removed them both from his court.

IT is pretended that he had made a vow of chaſtity, which was very raſh in an huſband, and very fooliſh in a king who had occaſion for heirs: and this vow, if it were real, prepared new chains for England.

THE manners and cuſtoms of thoſe times, bore no reſemblance to thoſe of ours. William the eighth, duke of Normandy, who conquered England, far from having any right to that kingdom, had none even to Normandy. His father, duke Robert, who was never married, had begot him upon the daughter of a ſkinner in Falaiſe, whom the hiſtory calls arlotte, a term which then ſignified, and ſtill ſignifies in Engliſh, a concubine or woman of pleaſure; but we have already ſeen how often, at that time, the law of nature got the better of the poſitive and eſtabliſhed laws.

THIS baſtard, owned as legitimate heir, in the life-time of his father, maintained himſelf by his valour and addreſs, againſt all his competitors for the dutchy: he reigned peaceably in Normandy, and Brittany

tany did him homage, when Edward the confeſſor dying, he pretended right to the kingdom of England. Edward himſelf had not enjoyed the throne by an hereditary title; and Harold his ſucceſſor was not of the ſame family; but he had the ſuffrages of the whole nation: ſo that William the baſtard had neither the right of election, nor of inheritance, nor was he ſupported or encouraged by any faction in England. He pretended, that, in a former voyage which he had made to that iſland, king Edward had made a will in his favour, which, however, no body ever ſaw. Then he alledged that Harold having been formerly releaſed from priſon by him, and afterwards detained in captivity, had yielded to him thoſe rights which he had not to alienate; or, had thoſe rights been actually inherent in his perſon, a ceſſion ſo extorted could not be of any weight: but William backed theſe weak arguments with a ſtrong army.

The barons of Normandy aſſembled in form of eſtates, refuſed to furniſh their duke with money for this expedition; becauſe, if he ſhould miſcarry, Normandy would be impoveriſhed; and his ſucceſs would make it a province of England: never-

nevertheleſs, many Normans riſqued their fortunes with their duke; one ſingle nobleman called Filts-Osbern, or Fitz-osborn, fitted out forty ſhips at his own expence: and the count of Flanders, duke William's father-in-law, aſſiſted him with ſome money. Even the pope entered into his intereſt, and excommunicated all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe his deſign. At length, he ſet ſail from St. Valery, with a numerous fleet; though the exact number of his ſhips and ſoldiers is not known. He landed upon the coaſt of Suſſex, and ſoon after, in that ſame province, fought the famous battle of Haſtings, which alone decided the fate of England. The Engliſh with king Harold at their head, and the Normans under the conduct of their duke, fought together for twelve hours; the cavalry, which about that time had begun to be looked upon as the main ſtrength of an army, does not ſeem to have been employed in this battle, in which the leaders fought on foot. Harold and two of his brothers being ſlain in this engagement, the conqueror drew near London, ordering to be carried before him a conſecrated banner, which he had received from the pope. This was a ſtandard under which all the biſhops united in his favour: they came

came to the gates, attended by the magiſtrates of the city, and offered him the crown, which indeed they could not well refuſe to ſuch a conqueror.

WILLIAM knew as well how to govern as to conquer: ſeveral rebellions extinguiſhed, Daniſh irruptions fruſtrated, and rigorous laws ſeverely executed, were circumſtances that ſignalized his reign. Ancient Britons, Danes, and Anglo-Saxons were all confounded in the ſame ſervitude; the Normans who had bore a part in his victory, ſhared by his favour the lands of the vanquiſhed; and from thence came thoſe Norman families, the deſcendants, or at leaſt the names of which ſtill ſubſiſt in England. He ordered an inventory to be made of all the goods, of what kind ſoever, belonging to his ſubjects; and is ſaid to have profited by this eſtimate, in eſtabliſhing to himſelf in England, a revenue of four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which was equal to about five millions ſterling of theſe days, or upwards of one hundred millions of French money. In this particular, the hiſtorians muſt certainly be very much miſtaken; for, at this day, the kingdom of Great Britain, comprehending England, Scotland and Ireland,

land, does not raiſe ſuch a large revenue, if you deduct what is levied for payment of the debts of the nation.

CERTAIN it is, William aboliſhed all the laws of their country, that he might introduce thoſe of his own: he ordained the lawyers to plead in the Norman tongue, and all the public acts were expedited in that language, till the time of Edward the third; becauſe he was reſolved that the language of the conquerors, ſhould be the ſole language of the country; ſchools for learning which, were eſtabliſhed in all the cities and boroughs of the kingdom. This language, mixed with a little Daniſh, became a barbarous idiom, which had no ſort of advantage over that which was ſpoken by the Engliſh. It is pretended that he not only treated the vanquiſhed nation with ſeverity, but likewiſe affected tyrannical caprices: they inſtance the law called couvrefeu, or curfew, by which at the ſound of a bell, all the fires in every houſe were extinguiſhed at eight o'clock in the evening. But this law, far from being tyrannical, is no other than an old eccleſiaſtic regulation, eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the antient cloiſters of the north. The houſes were wholly built of wood, and the fear of fire,

fire, was one of the moſt important objects of the general police.

He is likewiſe reproached with having deſtroyed all the villages within a circuit of fifteen leagues, to be converted into a foreſt, in which he might enjoy the pleaſures of the chace. Such conduct is too ſtupid to be probable. The hiſtorians do not conſider, that five and twenty years are ſcarce ſufficient for a new plan of planting, to become a foreſt proper for the chace: he is ſaid to have planted this foreſt in 1080, when he was in the ſixty third year of his age; then what probability is there, that a reaſonable man ſhould at that age, deſtroy villages to plant fifteen leagues of ground, in hope of hunting one day in his own plantation?

This conqueror was the terror of Philip the firſt of France, who when it was too late, wanted to humble this powerful vaſſal: he made an incurſion into Maine, which at that time depended upon Normandy. William repaſſed the ſea, retook the country of Maine, compelled the king of France to ſue for peace; and though he himſelf had a ſovereign, was the moſt mighty prince in Europe.

The

The ſtate of EUROPE, in the tenth and eleventh century.

RUSSIA, as we have already obſerved, had embraced Chriſtianity, about the end of the tenth century: the women were deſtined to convert kingdoms. A ſiſter of the emperors Baſilius and Conſtantine, being married to the father of Czar Jaraſſan, of whom mention has been made, prevailed upon her huſband to be baptized: and the Ruſſians, ſlaves to their prince, imitated his example, though they adopted nothing but the ſuperſtitions of the Greek church. About the ſame time another woman brought over all Poland to Chriſtianity; Miſcelas, duke of Poland, being converted by his wife, who was ſiſter to the duke of Bohemia. I have already obſerved, that the Bulgares received the faith in the ſame manner. Giſelle, ſiſter of the emperor Henry, made a chriſtian of her huſband the king of Hungary, in the firſt year of the eleventh century. Thus one half of Europe certainly owes its Chriſtianity to the labours of women: yet that religion but ill eſtabliſhed, was as yet mixed with Paganiſm. Sweden, in which it had been preached in the ninth century, was

was relapſed into idolatry; Bohemia and all the country along the Elbe, renounced Chriſtianity in the year 1013: and all the eaſtern coaſt of the Baltic was pagan. In 1047 the Hungarians returned to Paganiſm, and all thoſe nations were equally infidel and uncivilized.

SWEDEN long ago exhauſted of her inhabitants, by thoſe migrations which overwhelmed Europe, ſeemed quite buried in brutality, during the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Unengaged in war, or any kind of commerce with her neighbours, ſhe had no ſhare in any great event; and probably was not the leſs happy on that account: for great events are but too often public misfortunes.

POLAND much more barbarous than chriſtian, preſerved till the thirteenth century, the antient cuſtoms of the Sarmates, who killed their own children that were born imperfect, and the old people that were paſt their labour: ſo that towards the end of that century, Albert the great was obliged to ſend thither a miſſion, to aboliſh that cuſtom, from which we may judge of the reſt of the north.

THE

THE empire of Conſtantinople was neither more contracted nor aggrandized than we have ſeen it in the ninth century. In the weſt, it defended itſelf againſt the Bulgares, and in the eaſt and north, againſt the Turks and Arabians; the throne was often ſtained with gore; and few princes of an emperor's blood, eſcaped the fury of his ſucceſſor, who ſcarce ever failed to put out the eyes of all thoſe who were related to the dethroned emperor. I ſhall defer deſcribing the fate of Conſtantinople, and the revolutions produced by the Turks in Aſia, until I mention the arrival of the Cruſards in thoſe countries.

WE have had a general view of Italy. Particular noblemen, ſhared among themſelves, the whole country from Rome to the Calabrian ſea, the greateſt part being poſſeſſed by Normans. Florence, Milan, Pavia and Piſa, were governed by their own magiſtrates, under counts or dukes named by the emperor. Though Bologna was more free than the reſt.

THE family of Morienna, from which are deſcended the dukes of Savoy, kings of Sardinia, now began to make a figure.

It

It poſſeſſed as fiefs of the empire, the hereditary counties of Savoy and Morienne, ever ſince Humbert with the white hands, ſtock of that family, had in 888 obtained that little portion diſmembred from the kingdom of Burgundy.

THE Swiſs and Griſons likewiſe detached from the ſame monarchy, which was of ſuch ſhort duration, were under the juriſdiction of bailiffs, named by the emperor.

Two ſea-port towns of Italy now began to lift up their heads, not in conſequence of ſudden invaſions, ſuch as many we have ſeen; but by prudent induſtry, which, however, ſoon degenerated into a ſpirit of making conqueſts. Thoſe two cities were Genoa and Venice. Genoa, celebrated in the time of the Romans, regarded Charlemain as her reſtorer; for that emperor had rebuilt the town, after it had been ſome time deſtroyed by the Goths: it was governed by counts under Charlemain, and his firſt deſcendants; and in the tenth century ſacked by the Mahometans, who carried away almoſt all its citizens into ſlavery; but being a trading port, it was ſoon re-peopled, and that buſineſs, which had raiſed it to a flouriſhing condition, ſerved

ſerved to re-eſtabliſh its power: then it became a republic, and took Corſica from the Arabians, who had made themſelves maſters of that iſland. Here it muſt be remembred, that the popes pretended a right to Corſica, by the donation of Lewis the debonnair, and actually exacted from the Genoeſe a tribute for that iſland. This the Genoeſe paid to the beginning of the eleventh century; but ſoon after delivered themſelves from the impoſition, under the pontificate of Lucius the ſecond: at length their ambition increaſing with their riches, from merchants they wanted to become conquerors.

THE city of Venice, much leſs antient than Genoa, affected the frivolous honour of more antient liberty, and enjoyed the ſole glory of a much ſuperior power. At firſt it was no more than a retreat of fiſhermen and ſome fugitives, who fled thither for refuge, in the beginning of the fifth century, when the Huns ravaged Italy. The whole city, at that time, conſiſted of cottages built on the Rialto. The name of Venice was not then known; and that Rialto, far from being free, was for the ſpace of thirty years, no other than a ſimple borough belonging to the city of Padua, who

who governed it by conſuls. The viciſſitude of human affairs afterwards ſubjected Padua to Venice: but there is no proof of Venice having been an acknowledged free city, under the Lombard kings; it is much more probable, that its inhabitants were utterly forgot, in the midſt of their moraſſes.

THE Rialto and the little neighbouring iſlands, did not begin to be ruled by their own magiſtrates, till the year 709.

THEY were then independent of Padua, and regarded themſelves as a republic: then too they had their firſt doge, who was no other than a tribune of the people, elected by the citizens; and ſeveral families who gave their votes for this firſt doge, are ſtill ſubſiſting, and reckoned the moſt antient nobles of Europe.

HERACLEA was the firſt ſeat of this republic, and ſo continued till the death of the third doge. It was not till towards the end of the ninth century, that theſe iſlanders retiring farther among their lagoons or little inlets, gave to that aſſemblage of ſmall iſlands, which formed one town, the name of Venice, from the coaſt, which

was

was called Terræ Venetorum: but the inhabitants of the moraſſes, being incapable of ſubſiſting any other way than by commerce, neceſſity was the origin of their power. It is not certainly decided, that the republic was even then abſolutely independent: for, we ſee that Beranger, for ſome time acknowledged emperor in Italy, gave permiſſion to the doge to coin money, in the year 950. Even theſe doges were obliged annually to ſend to the emperors, by way of tenure, a mantle of cloth of gold: and Otho the third remitted this kind of petty tribute, in the year 998: but theſe ſlight marks of vaſſalage, detracted nothing from the real power of Venice. For while they paid this mantle to the emperors, they acquired by their money, and the force of their arms, the whole province of Iſtria, and almoſt all the coaſts of Dalmatia, Spalatro, Raguza and Narenta. About the middle of the tenth century, their doge aſſumed the title of duke of Salmatia; but Venice was not ſo much enriched by thoſe conqueſts, as by trade, in which ſhe ſtill ſurpaſſed the Genoeſe: for while the barons of Germany and France were building caſtles, and oppreſſing their people, Venice attracted all their money, by furniſhing them with all the

the commodities of the eaſt. The ſeas were already covered with her ſhips, and ſhe enriched herſelf by the ignorance and barbarity of the northern nations of Europe.

Of SPAIN and the MAHOMETANS ſettled in that kingdom, down to the beginning of the twelfth century.

SPAIN was always divided between the Mahometans and the Chriſtians; but theſe laſt had not above one fourth part of the kingdom; and even that corner was the moſt barren of the whole country. The dominions of the Chriſtians, conſiſted of Aſturia, whoſe princes took the title of king of Leon, a part of old Caſtile, governed by counts; Barcellona, with the half of Catalonia, likewiſe under a count; Navarre, which had a king of its own; and a part of Arragon, which was for ſome time united to Navarre. The Arabians poſſeſſed Portugal, Murcia, Andaluſia, Valentia, Grenada, and Tortoza, extending themſelves through the middle of the country, on the other ſide of the mountains of Caſtile and Saragoſſa. The

reſidence of the Mahometan kings was at Cordova, where they built that great moſque, the arched roof of which was ſupported by three hundred and ſixty five columns of precious marble; and it ſtill bears, even among the Chriſtians, the name of Meſquita or Moſque, although it is converted into a cathedral.

THERE the arts flouriſhed: the moſt elegant pleaſures, magnificence and galantry reigned at the court of thoſe kings: tilts and turnaments were in all likelihood the invention of thoſe Arabians; they had their ſhews and their theatres, which, rude as they were, at leaſt proved that the other nations of thoſe days, were leſs poliſhed than the Mahometans. Cordova was, after Conſtantinople, the only country of the weſt, where geometry, aſtronomy, chymiſtry, and medicine were cultivated. Sancho the groſs, king of Leon, was obliged to go thither, to put himſelf into the hands of a famous Arabian phyſician, who being invited to the dominions of that king, inſiſted upon the king's coming to Cordova.

THIS is a delightful country, watered by the Guadalquivir, where groves of lemons,

mons, oranges, and pomegranates perfume the air, and every thing invites to effeminacy, luxury and pleaſure, which at laſt corrupted the Muſſulmen kings. In the tenth century, their dominions, like thoſe of all the chriſtian princes, were parcelled out into petty ſtates. Toledo, Murcia, Valentia, and even Hueſca had their ſeparate kings; and that was the time for overwhelming that divided province; but the Chriſtians of Spain were ſtill more diſtracted; they were at continual war among themſelves, they re-united only to betray each other, and often entered into alliance with the Muſſulmen. Alphonſo the fifth, king of Leon, in the year 1000, actually gave his ſiſter Tereſa in marriage, to ſultan Abdalla, king of Toledo.

JEALOUSY produces more crimes among petty princes, than among great ſovereigns. War alone can decide the fate of vaſt monarchies; but ſurpriſals, perfidies, aſſaſſinations and poiſon are more common among rival neighbours, who having great ambition and few reſources, put in practice every thing that can ſupply the want of main force: thus one Sancho Garcias, count of Caſtile, poiſoned his own mother, about the end of the tenth century; and

his ſon Don Garcia was ſtabbed by three noblemen of the country, while he was on his way to be married. At length, in the year 1035, Ferdinand, ſon of Sancho, king of Navarre and Arragon, re-united under his power the whole of old Caſtile, which his family had inherited by the murder of Don Garcia, and the kingdom of Leon, of which he deſpoiled his own brother-in-law, whom he ſlew in battle.

CASTILE then became a kingdom, and Leon a province belonging to it: but Ferdinand, not ſatisfied with having deprived his brother-in-law of his kingdom and life, likewiſe wreſted Navarre from his own brother, whom he ordered to be aſſaſſinated in a battle which he offered him. This is the Ferdinand, upon whom the Spaniards have laviſhed the name of Great, probably, becauſe he diſhonoured that title.

HIS father Don Sancho, likewiſe ſirnamed the Great, for having ſucceeded to the counts of Caſtile, and married one of his ſons to the princeſs of the Aſturies, had proclaimed himſelf emperor, and Don Ferdinand reſolved to aſſume the ſame title. Undoubtedly there is not, nor can there be

any

any title affected by ſovereigns, but ſuch as they chooſe to take, and ſuch as uſe hath ſanctioned; but the name of emperor every where implies the heir of the Cæſars, and lord of the Roman empire, or at leaſt, him who pretends to be ſo: therefore, it is very improbable, that ſuch an appellation ſhould be the diſtinguiſhing title of an ill ſettled prince, who ruled over the fourth part of Spain.

THE emperor Henry the third, and not Henry the ſecond, as ſo many authors affirm, mortified the Spaniſh pride, in demanding from Ferdinand homage for his petty dominions, as fiefs of the empire. It is difficult to ſay which was the weakeſt pretence, that of the German emperor, or that of the Spaniard; however thoſe vain ideas produced no effect, and the dominions of Ferdinand remained a little free kingdom.

UNDER the reign of this Ferdinand, lived Rodorigo, ſirnamed the Cid, who certainly married Chimena, after he had killed her father: thoſe who know nothing more of that hiſtory, than what they learn in the tragedy ſo celebrated in the laſt age, believe that king Ferdinand was in poſ-

ſeſſion of Andaluſia; but nothing can be more falſe than to affirm, that any one place of Andaluſia belonged to that prince.

THE firſt famous exploits of the Cid, conſiſted in aiding Don Sancho, the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand, to ſtrip his brothers and ſiſters of the inheritance bequeathed to them by their father: but Don Sancho having been aſſaſſinated in one of his unjuſt expeditions, his brothers retrieved their eſtates, and the chriſtian part of Spain was parcelled out as before.

AT that juncture there was about twenty kings in Spain, ſome Chriſtian, ſome Mahometan; beſides a conſiderable number of independant lords, who went about on horſeback, armed cap-a-pee, and followed by ſome ſquires, to offer their ſervices to the princes and princeſſes, who were at war.

THIS cuſtom, already ſpread over Europe, was no where in greater credit than in Spain: the prince in whoſe cauſe thoſe knights engaged, girded them with a belt, and preſented them a ſword, after having given them a gentle ſtroke upon the ſhoulder. The Chriſtian knights of Spain added

added other circumſtances to the ceremony of dubbing; and watched their armour before an altar of the virgin Mary: but the Muſſulmen contented themſelves with girding on a ſcymitar. This was the origin of knights errant, and of a great many ſingle combats; the moſt celebrated of which, was that fought after the death of king Sancho, aſſaſſinated, as I have obſerved, in the year 1073, while he beſieged his ſiſter Auraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the innocence of the infanta, againſt Don Diego de Lara, by whom ſhe was accuſed: they fought hand to hand, one after another, in preſence of judges named by both parties. Don Diego overturned and killed two of the infanta's knights; when the horſe of the third, having the reins of his bridle cut, carried his rider without the liſts, ſo that the combat was declared indeciſive.

Among ſo many knights, the Cid was he who ſignalized himſelf moſt againſt the Muſſulmen. Many cavaliers liſted under his banner, and all together with their ſquires and horſemen, compoſed an army covered with ſteel, and mounted on the fineſt horſes of the country. The Cid having vanquiſhed more than one petty Mooriſh

Mooriſh king, fortified the city of Alcaſar, and there erected a ſovereignty for himſelf.

AT length he perſuaded his maſter Alphonſo the fourth, king of old Caſtile, to beſiege the city of Toledo, and made him an offer of all his knights for that enterprize: the report of this ſiege, and the reputation of the Cid, ſummoned from France and Italy a great many knights and princes, who wanted opportunities to ſignalize themſelves; ſo that it became a kind of Cruſade. Raimond, count of Toulouſe, and two princes of the blood of France, of the branch of Burgundy, came to this ſiege. All that was reputed the flower of chivalry, went thither to fight under the ſtandard of the Cid. The Mahometan king called Hiaga, was ſon to one of the moſt generous princes whoſe names are preſerved in hiſtory. His father Almamon had given an azylum in Toledo, to that very king Alphonſo the ſixth, at that time perſecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together in the moſt intimate friendſhip, and Almamon, far from detaining him, when, upon the death of Sancho, he became king, and conſequently a formidable neighbour, preſented him

him with part of his own treaſure. They are even ſaid to have wept at parting. More than one Mahometan knight rode forth from the city, to reproach the king with his ingratitude, and more than one ſingle combat were fought under the walls of Toledo.

AFTER the ſiege had laſted a whole year, Toledo capitulated, on condition that the Muſſulmen ſhould be treated as they had formerly uſed the Chriſtians; that they ſhould live under their own laws and religion; a promiſe which was broke in the ſequel. All new Caſtile ſurrendered to the Cid, who took poſſeſſion of it, in the name of Alphonſo; and Madrid, a ſorry place, deſtined to be one day the capital of Spain, was for the firſt time poſſeſſed by Chriſtians.

MANY families came from France to ſettle at Toledo, where they were favoured with privileges, which are ſtill known in Spain by the name of franchiſes.

KING Alphonſo the ſixth immediately convened an aſſembly of biſhops, who, without that concourſe of people formerly preſent on ſuch occaſions, elected into the

ſee

ſee of Toledo, a prieſt called Bertrand, upon whom pope Gregory the ſeventh had conferred the primacy of Spain at the king's requeſt.

THE falſe decretals made mankind believe that formerly the church of Toledo had been in poſſeſſion of that primacy; but now ſhe enjoyed it for the firſt time. The archbiſhopric at this day is not worth leſs than an hundred thouſand piſtoles a year. This conqueſt turned almoſt wholly to the advantage of the church; yet the primate's firſt care was to violate the conditions which the king had ſwore to perform. The great Moſque was to remain in poſſeſſion of the Mahometans; but the archbiſhop, during the king's abſence, converted it into a church, and excited a ſedition againſt himſelf. Alphonſo returned to Toledo, irritated by the indiſcretion of the prelate, whom he was even going to puniſh: but the Mahometans to whom the king was wiſe enough to reſtore the church, were fain to aſk pardon for the archbiſhop. Alphonſo ſtill augmented by marriage the dominions which he gained by the ſword of the Cid: either from policy or inclination, he eſpouſed Zaide, daughter of Benaba, the new Mooriſh king of

of Andaluſia, and received ſeveral cities as her dower.

He is accuſed of having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, called other Mahometans from Africa into Spain. Though it is difficult to believe that he ſhould commit ſuch a ſtrange error; the conduct of kings, however, is ſometimes oppoſite to all probability: be that as it may, an army of Moors poured from Africa into Spain, and augmented the confuſion in which it was at that time involved.

Miramolin, who reigned at Morocco, ſent his general Abnaxa to the aſſiſtance of the king of Andaluſia: that general betrayed not only the prince to whoſe ſuccour he had been ſent, but alſo Miramolin in whoſe name he had come. At length Miramolin, incenſed againſt him, came in perſon to puniſh his perfidious general, who made war upon other Mahometans, while the Chriſtians were ſo much divided among themſelves.

Spain was torn in pieces by ſo many Mahometan and Chriſtian nations, when the Cid Don Rodorigo, at the head of his chivalry, ſubdued the kingdom of Valentia;

tia; ſo that few kings in Spain were more powerful than he, though he never took the name. Nevertheleſs, he governed Valentia with the authority of a ſovereign, receiving ambaſſadors, and reſpected by all nations. After his death, which happened about the year 1096, the kings of Caſtile and Arragon ſtill maintained their wars againſt the Moors; and Spain was never more deſolated and drenched in blood: the dire effects of the conſpiracy of the archbiſhop Opas, and count Julian, which, for four hundred years, and a long time after, was the occaſion of infinite miſchiefs to Spain.

FINIS.

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